Guide to the FQ6 Ila File

[The FQ6 Ila file consists of six sources, all of which are in English. The main sources are 1: Smith & Dale, and 2: Smith & Dale. They are the first and second volumes of the standard ethnography on the Ila. 3: Smith is an addendum to the preceding volumes providing data concerning culture change and sib and lineage composition. 4: Jaspan is an ethnographic survey depending primarily on written sources. 5: Brelsford is a brief analysis of some of the institutions which allow for regularized extra-marital sexual relations in Ila society. 6: Evans is a description of a public health program to bring venereal disease among the Ila under control.

This is an adequate file for cross-cultural purposes. Most of the categories of culture are well-covered and none are really deficient. --Analyst]

Processed in 1961

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WHO are the "Ila-speaking peoples"? 101 ●

Generally speaking, they are the people usually known as the Mashukulumbwe, or, as Livingstone spelt it, Bashukulompo. This is not the name by which they call themselves, but was given them by their neighbours and conquerors, the Barotsi. It has not been easy to find the meaning of this word, but we are inclined to accept the derivation suggested to us by the Rev. A. Jalla of Lealui, viz. two Luyi (Rotsi) words: *kushukula*, "to brush the hair back from the forehead," and *lumpwili*, "a built up mass of hair" (Ba-shukula-lumpwili = Ba-shuku-lumpwi). The reference is to the characteristic coiffure of the people. The Matabele call them Matjokotjoko, in allusion to their manner of speaking. Both these names were given in derision, and the people resent their use; we have, therefore, not used either of them.

The chief thing that unites them is the language they 101
speak, viz. Ila. We might, therefore, simply call them all 197
Ba-ila; and indeed we do often include all the sections under 619
this comprehensive title. But, according to native usage, this is not strictly correct. Some of the people consider themselves exclusively entitled to the name; and in the following classification we are looking through their eyes. This in the interests of accuracy; for practical purposes they can all be regarded as one.

1. *The Ba-ila.*—According to themselves, the pucka 131
Ba-ila. Their country, called Bwila, as defined by themselves 619
and as delineated on the map, is a small one. Like most African tribal names, it is difficult to determine its meaning. The word Ila, standing alone, may mean several things: it is

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914) 1920
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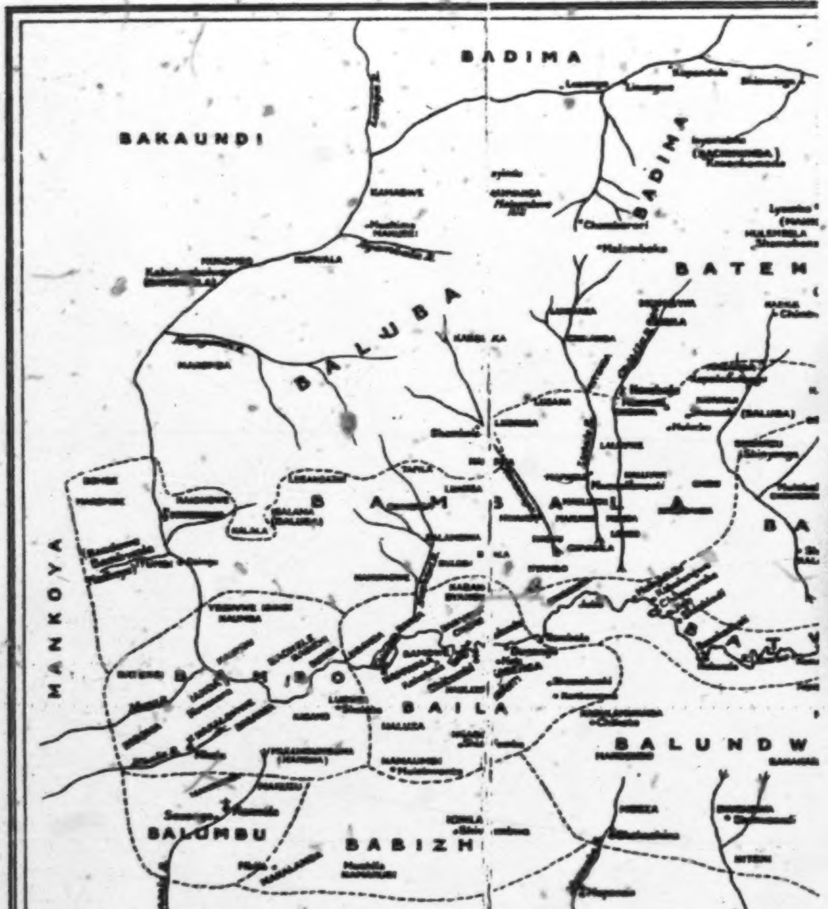
BADIMA
BAKAUNDI
BADIMA
BATEM
BALUBA
MANKOYA
BAILA
BALUNDW
BALUMBU
BABIZH
BATONG
Communities thus, KABENGA
Villages thus, Mala
Government Stations, thus
Mission Stations, thus

A PART
of
NORTHERN RHODESIA
To illustrate "THE ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES of N.R."

Compiled from Official Sources.

[facing p. xxv(A)]

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
FQ6 Ila FQ6

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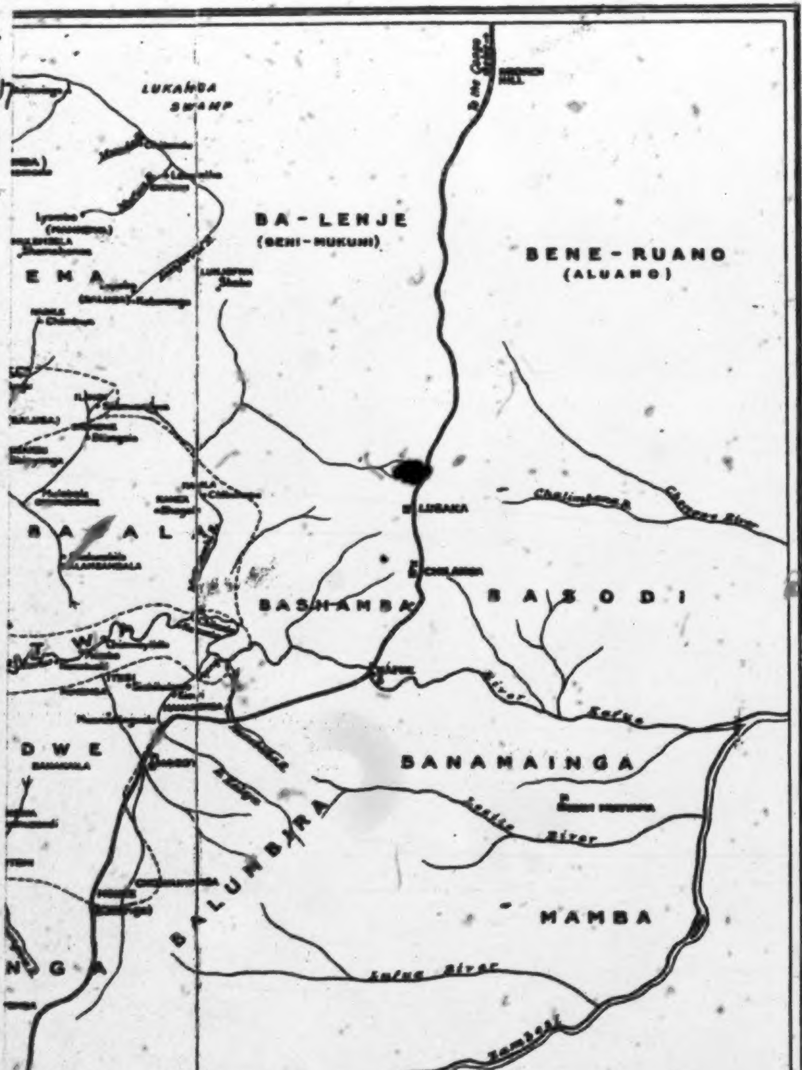
LUKANGA SWAMP
BA-LENJE
(SENI-MUKUNI)
BENE-RUANO
(ALUANO)
E M A
LUSAKA
CHILANGA
Chalimbana R.
Chongwe River
B A S H A M B A
B A S O D I
River Kafue
B A N A M A I N G A
River
M A M B A
Kalue River
Zambesi River
B A W E
D W E
N G A
Scale 1:1,676,967

R.&R. Clark, Ltd. Printers, Edinr.

[Facing p. XXV (B)]

V

have been applied by the Bantu invaders to the peoples 131
they found in possession. There are many differences 619
between Ba-ila and Batwa. They seem to have a language
of their own, but those living near the Bwila speak Ila. [197]

7. There are people in the west on the Nanzela River who call themselves Balumbu, a name which the Ba-ila apply indiscriminately to all foreigners. They are very mixed, but now the language of them all is Ila.

These, then, comprise the Ila-speaking peoples. Beside 171
them, both on the north and the south, the Ba-ila are contiguous with tribes with whom, linguistically at least, they 197
are very closely related, and whose history and customs we would gladly have included in our book had we had opportunity of studying them. On the north are the Batema and Walenje (or Beni Mukuni), closely allied peoples, though separated by many small differences, *e.g.* the Walenje knock out three front teeth, while the Batema file the two front incisors into an inverted V. On the south are the Batonga, or Batoka, a name which covers remnants of many tribes. If we may judge by language, they are nearly akin with the Ba-ila, as also are the Basubia on the Zambesi around Sesheke, though different in physical features and customs. On the contrary, the other neighbours of the Ba-ila—Mankoya on the west, Baluba on the north-west, and Basodi and Bashamba on the north-east—are, as well in language as in other things, very distinct people.

Our readers will kindly bear in mind that Ila is a root- 101 ●
word, and is not, from the native point of view, complete 193
without a prefix. Mwila (= mu-ila) means a single person of the tribe; Ba-ila, more than one person; Bwila (= bu-ila) is the name of the country. The same three prefixes occur with the same meaning in other tribal names, *e.g.* mu-lumbu, ba-lumbu, bu-lumbu.

Ba-ila corresponds, then, in form to English*men*. One does not say "the Englishmen country," and on that analogy it is incorrect, when writing English, to use Ba-ila as an adjective: we should say "the Ila country," "the Ila language," etc. But it is not easy to be always consistent in this.

I. INTRODUCTION

NOMENCLATURE AND GROUPING

. The Ila-Tonga-Lenje group of peoples inhabit the greater part of the country along the north bank of the Zambezi River, from Sesheke to approximately 50 miles below its confluence with the Kafue River, and northward to the region of the Lukanga River and swamp. A small minority of the We or Valley Tonga live on the southern side of the Zambezi. I 101 131

These peoples are loosely related to one another, having similar languages and cultures. From north to south they are:

(a) *Lenje* (also known as Lengi and Beni-Mukuni) to the north and west of Lusaka, and around the Lukanga Swamp, which itself is inhabited by Twa, a numerically small people with a separate language and culture. The Kafue River passes through the north-western corner of the Lenje Reserve, in which the majority of Lenje live.[1]

(b) *Sala* to the north of the Kafue and roughly between the Nangoma and Mwomboshi Rivers. East of the Mwomboshi there is a small Sala Reserve in the Mumbwa District.[2]

(c) *Soli* (also known as Sodi or Sori) mainly in the Lusaka District, where they occupy two reserves.[3]

(d) *Banamainga* and *Gowa*, little-known peoples, reported to be resident in the valley at the Kafue-Zambezi confluence. The existence of the Namainga is mentioned by Smith and Dale, Macnamara, and in the Report of the 1946 Land Commission.[4] T [101] [131]

(e) *Mbala* to the west of the Sala and north of the Ila. Since they speak a dialect of the Ila language, Smith and Dale classed them as a section of the Ila.[5] They are said to be considerably intermixed with the neighbouring Luba, Tema, and Sala.

(f) *Ila* on both banks of the Kafue River and approximately between longitudes 26° and 27° east. The Ila were known as the Mashukulumbwe or Bashukulompo (as Livingstone spelled it) by the Lozi.

(g) *Lumbu* and *Ɓizhi*, the former to the west of the Ila on the Nanzela River and the latter to the south of the Ila. These two peoples have also been classed as sections of the Ila.[6]

(h) *Lundwe*, intermediary between the Ila and the Plateau Tonga. They are regarded as either a south-eastern section of the Ila or a north-western section of the Tonga.[7]

(i) *Tonga*, who are the largest of the peoples under consideration in this Survey. These North Zambezi Tonga are distinct from the West Nyasa Tonga and the Shona Tonga on the south bank of the Lower Zambezi. T [101] [131]

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[1] Report of the Land Commission (R.L.C.), 1946, pp. 35–6.
[2] Ibid., p. 70.
[3] Ibid., pp. 43–4.
[4] Smith and Dale, 1920, I, map facing p. xxv; Macnamara, 1912; R.L.C., 1946, p. 50.
[5] Smith and Dale, 1920, I, pp. xxvi–xxvii.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

LUBAMBO: A DESCRIPTION OF THE BAILA CUSTOM.

By Vernon Brelsford.

The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia are a loose congeries of tribes living roughly between the 15th and 16th parallels of latitude and the 26th and 27th of longitude; tribes of differing origins, under differing names and chiefs, but all generally speaking the Baila language and living under the influence of a Baila culture. Within the area delimited, the Baila proper occupy a relatively small central portion of, roughly, thirty miles square. The co-lingual tribes surrounding this area, the Bambala, the Balundwe, the Babizhi and others, each occupy much larger areas than the people whose culture they have imbibed. 101

The history of the Baila and these kindred tribes, before they arrived in their present location in Rhodesia, is practically unknown. They are distinct, both in physique and culture, from the larger surrounding units of Balenje, Batonga and the tribes within the Barotse sphere of influence, and Smith and Dale,[1] writing in 1919, beyond suggesting that they are a subdivision of the Eastern Bantu, can give no further information as to their origin or history. Since that time, beyond a few tentative suggestions from District Officers, knowledge has progressed no further. All that is probable is that the larger, present co-lingual peoples, are later immigrants into the district, and that by processes such as intermarriage they have come under the influence of a stronger Baila language and culture. 174

Chibuluma I, an important chief of a Baila-Baluba group in the Mumbwa District, is an offspring of a Mwila mother and a Kaonde father. Both he and his immediate ancestors practised the peculiar Baila custom of *lubambo*, and they are an example of how this custom is spreading to originally non-Baila peoples. 837

In Smith and Dale's book *lubambo* was described as " a species of polyandry," or a public acceptance of a system of paramours; any wife or husband with connivance of the other spouse, may take a lover, the male lover always paying a gift of cattle to the husband of the woman with whom he temporarily cohabits. The custom, thus baldly described, is peculiar to the Baila, and is a stumbling block in the path of English administration. The arrangement is usually made by husband and lover, the wife among the Baila not being regarded as a free agent in matters of this description.

The custom, repugnant though it is, is fiercely adhered to by the Baila proper, in spite of the frowns of a superimposed English legal system, and, with the growing sense of security and consequent increased tribal intermingling, *lubambo* is showing a disconcerting tendency to be adopted by people surrounding the Baila. Government officials in combating the custom consistently refuse to take cognizance of claims arising from its practice, although chiefs in 837 648

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[1] *The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia.*

A	B	C
D	E	F

Chart of position of sections of end map. /Facing end map/

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
FQ6 Ila FQ6

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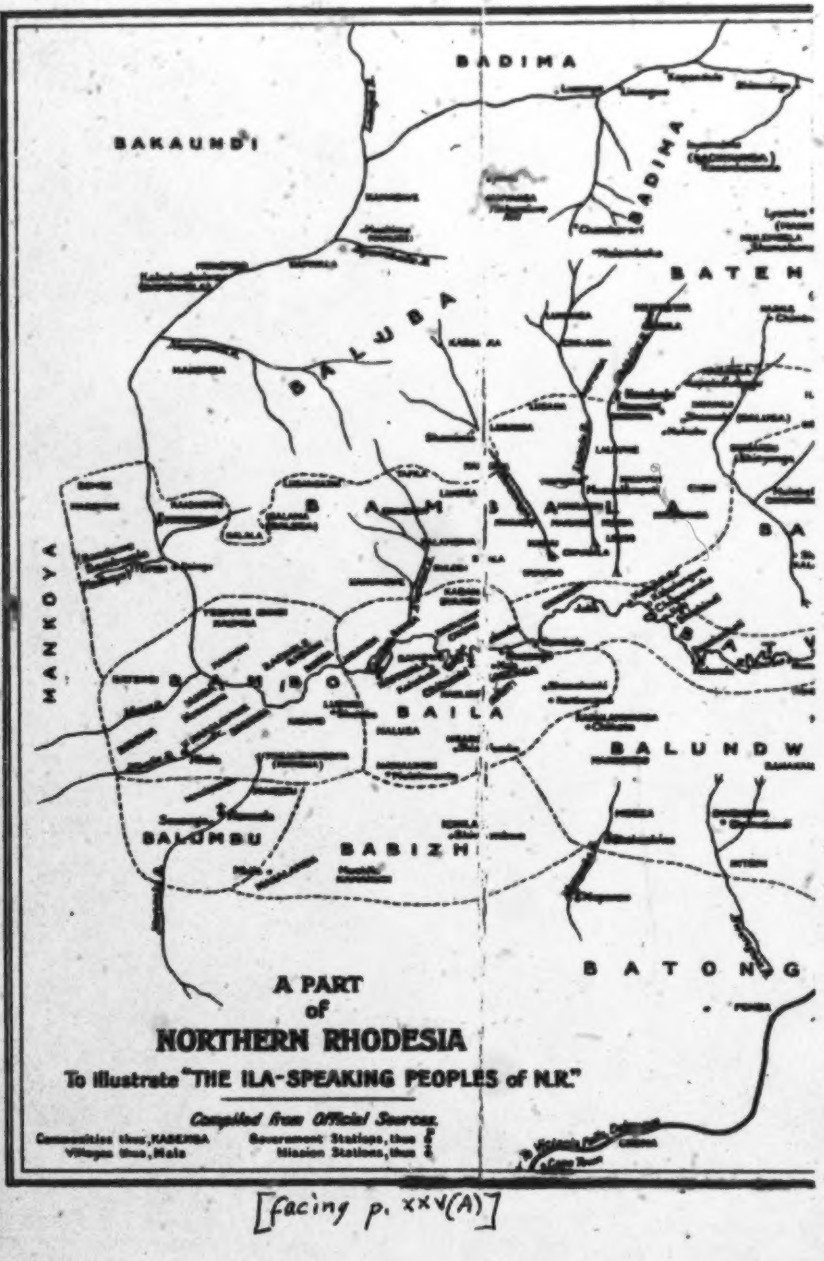
BADIMA
BAKAUNDI
BADIMA
BATEN
BALUBA
BAMBALA
MANKOYA
BA
BANIRO
BAILA
BATV
BALUNDW
BALUMBU
BABIZH
BATONG
Communities thus, KABEMBA
Villages thus, Mala
Government Stations, thus
Mission Stations, thus
Victoria Falls
Livingstone

A PART
of
NORTHERN RHODESIA
To illustrate "THE ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES of N.R."

Compiled from Official Sources.

[facing p. xxv(A)]

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914) 1920
FQ6 Ila FQ6

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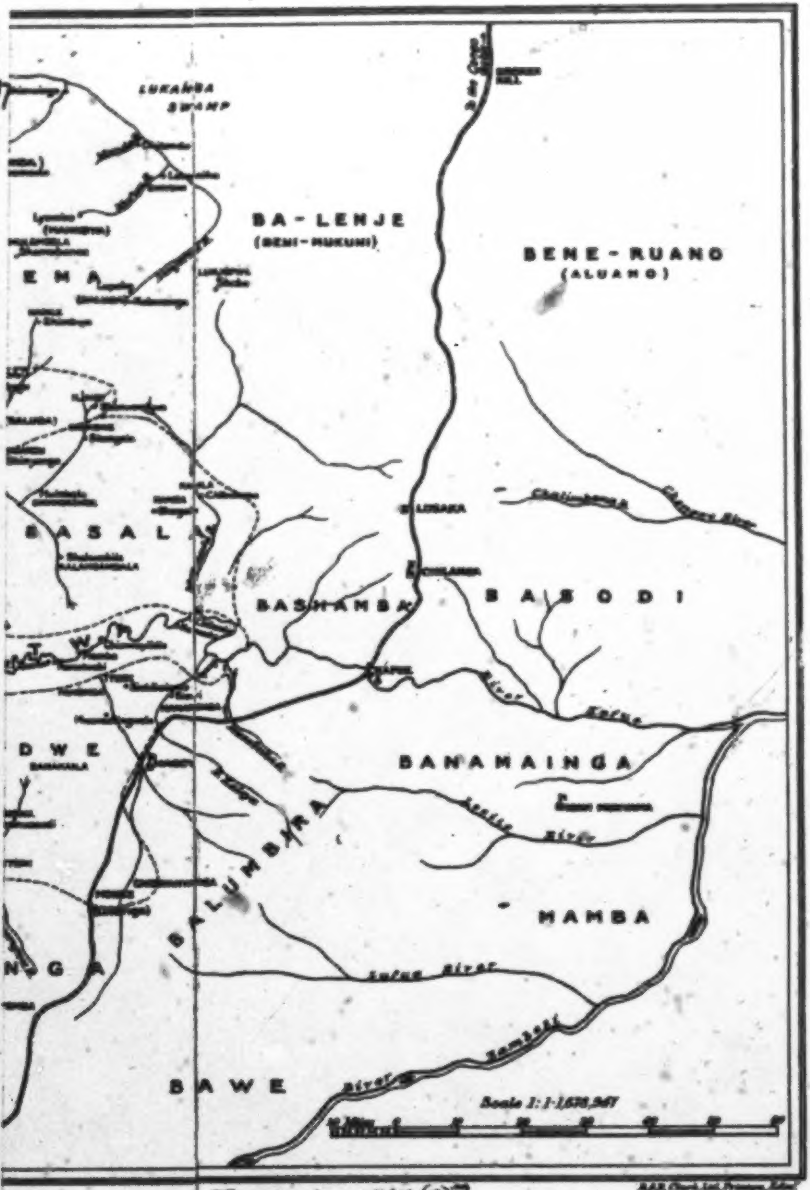
LUKAMBA SWAMP
BA-LENJE
(BENI-MUKUNI)
BENE-RUANO
(ALUANO)
EMA
BASALA
BASHAMBA
BASODI
Kafue River
BANAMAINGA
BALUMBWA
MAMBA
DWE
NGA
BAWE
Kafue River
Zambezi River
Scale 1:1,670,967

[facing p. XXV (B)]

you could see the blood flowing into them. He was evidently in a state of exhaustion upon his arrival at Lubwe, for he sank upon the ground, and feebly pointed to a pipe one of the men was smoking. In his pocket he had a small packet of powdered tobacco (opium ?), and filling the pipe with difficulty he smoked a few minutes, coughing violently.

FACSIMILE OF A SMALL SECTION OF LIVINGSTONE'S ORIGINAL MAP OF THE ZAMBESI RIVER TERRITORY MADE ON HIS GREAT JOURNEY ACROSS AFRICA, 1853–54.

(By permission of the London Missionary Society.)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ 11
Tonga FQ 12

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S
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102
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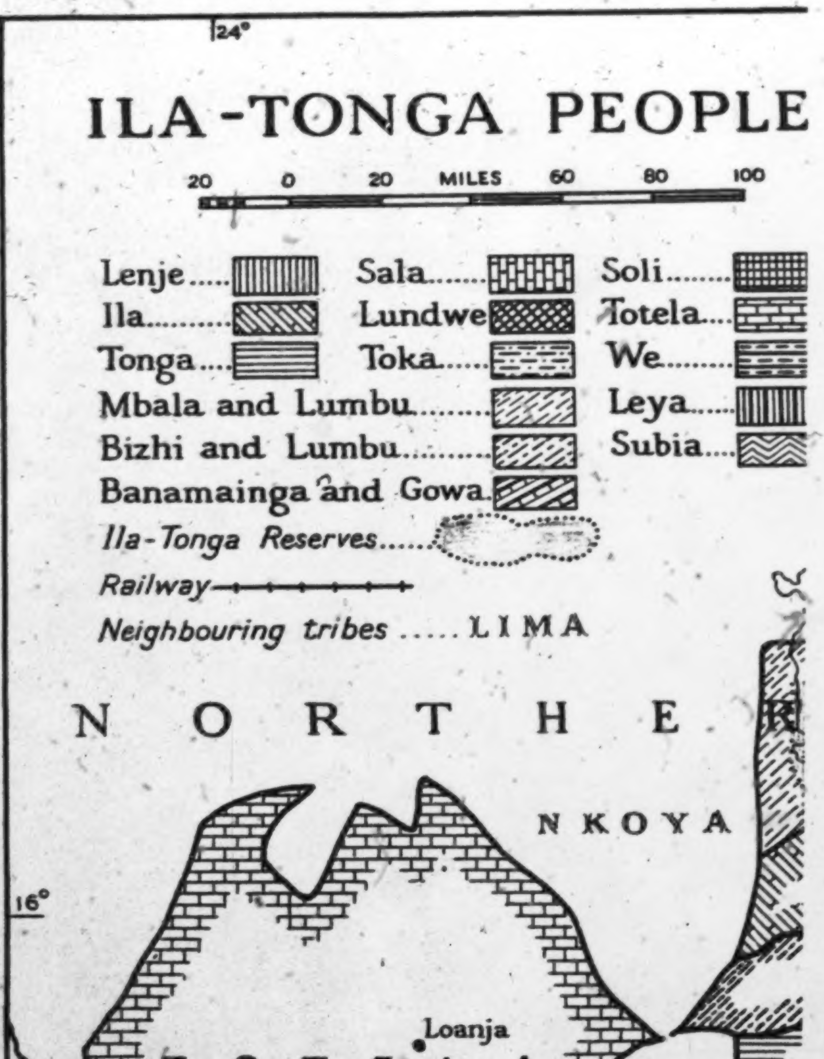
24°
ILA-TONGA PEOPLE
20 0 20 MILES 60 80 100
Lenje
Sala
Soli
Ila
Lundwe
Totela
Tonga
Toka
We
Mbala and Lumbu
Leya
Bizhi and Lumbu
Subia
Banamainga and Gowa
Ila-Tonga Reserves
Railway
Neighbouring tribes ..... LIMA
NORTHER
NKOYA
16°
Loanja
TOTELA
Sioma
Mulobezi

END MAP (A)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ 11
Tonga FQ 12

I
S
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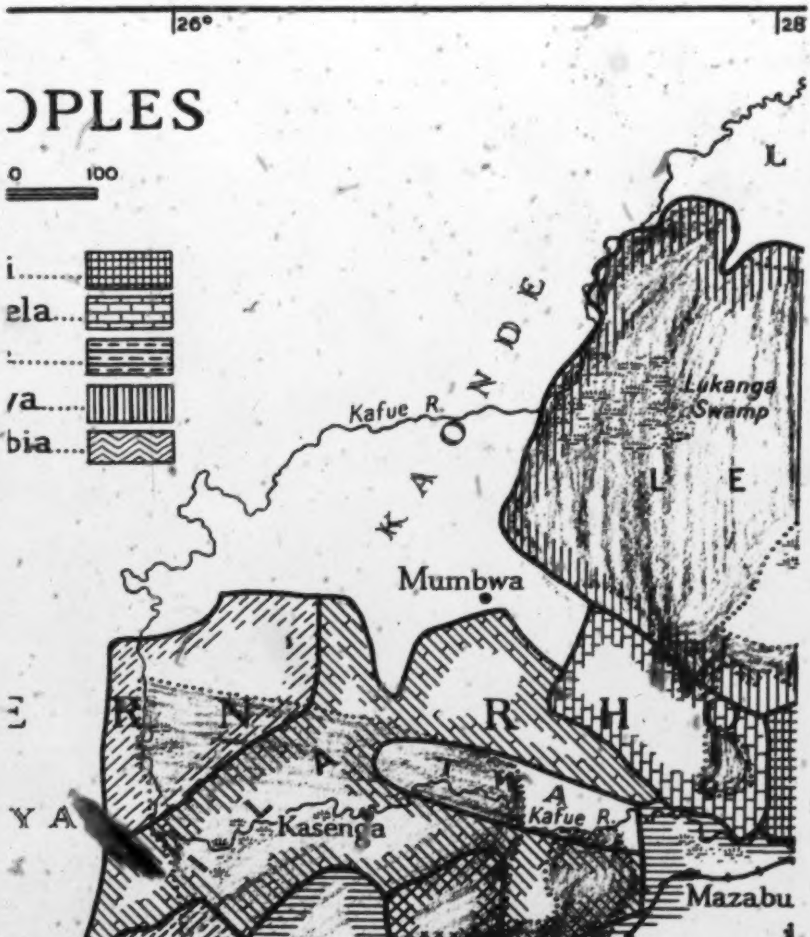
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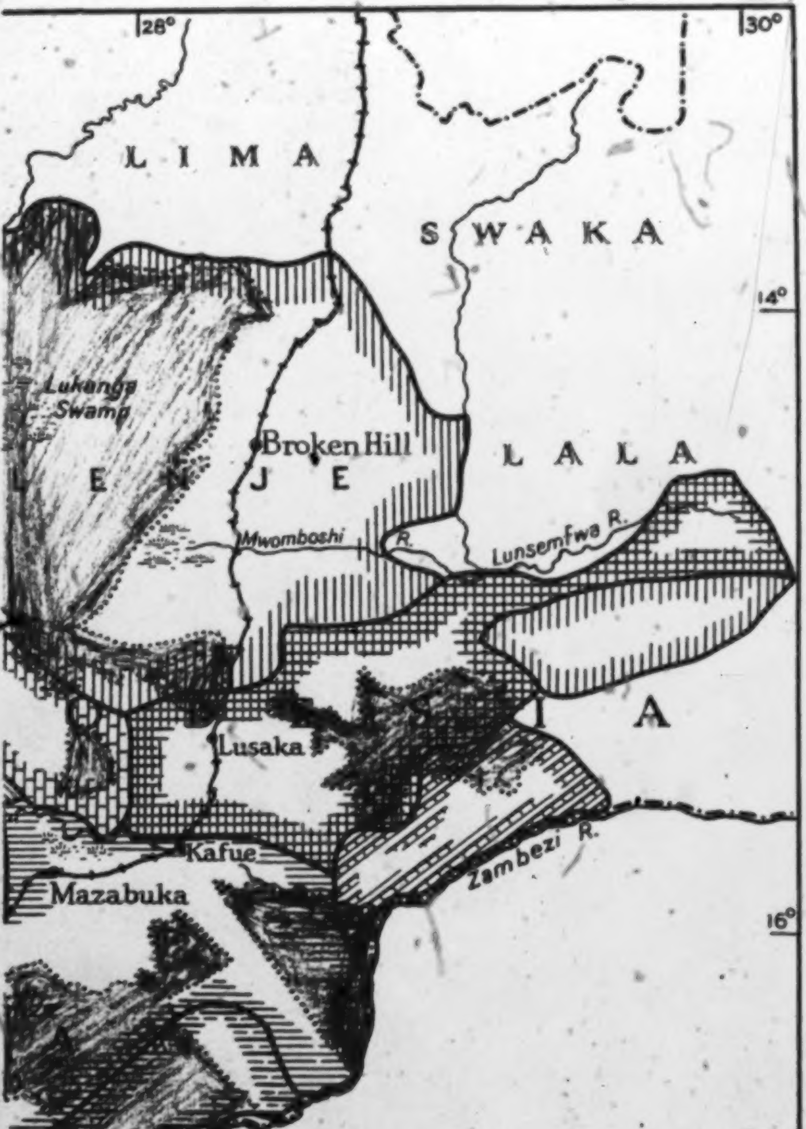
KAONDE
Kafue R.
Lukanga Swamp
L E
Mumbwa
E
R N
R H
A
A
YA
Kasenga
Kafue R.
Mazabu
TONGA
Monze
Pemba
zi
Choma

. End Map (B)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ11
Tonga FQ12

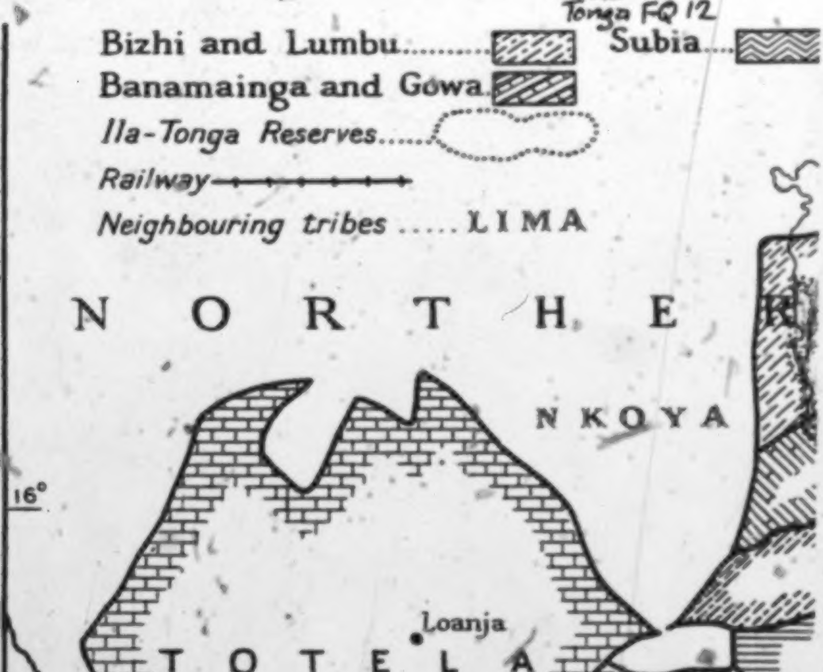
● IST
● 102
131


28°
30°
14°
16°
LIMA
SWAKA
LALA
LENJE
A
Lukanga Swamp
Broken Hill
Mwomboshi R.
Lunsemfwa R.
Lusaka
Kafue
Mazabuka
Zambezi R.

END MAP (C)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ 11
Tonga FQ 12

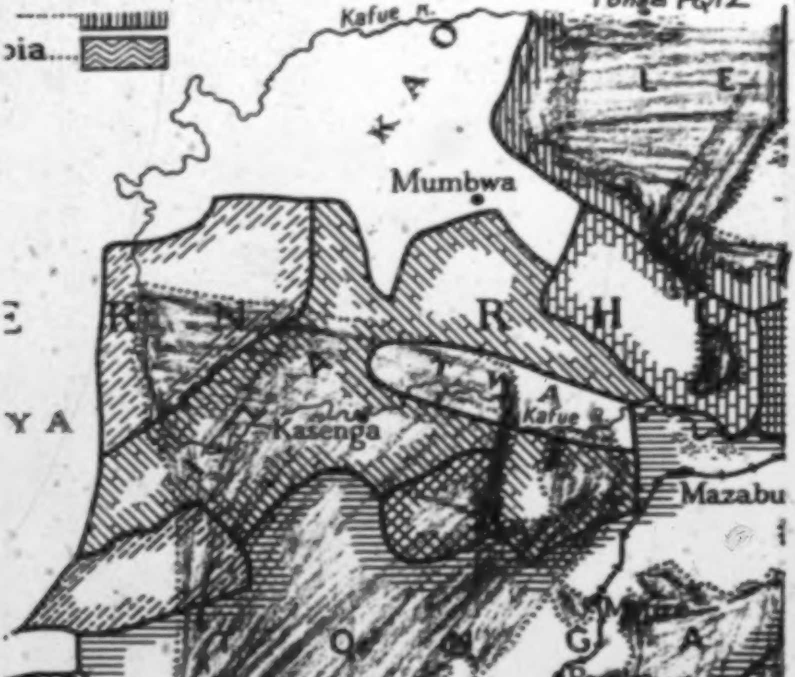
● I
S
T
● 102
131


Bizhi and Lumbu
Subia
Banamainga and Gowa
Ila-Tonga Reserves
Railway
Neighbouring tribes ..... LIMA
NORTHER
NKOYA
16°
Loanja
TOTELA
Sioma
Zambezi
Mulobezi
TOKA
SHANJO?
LOZI
Chobe R.
18°
24°

END MAP (D)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ11
Tonga FQ12

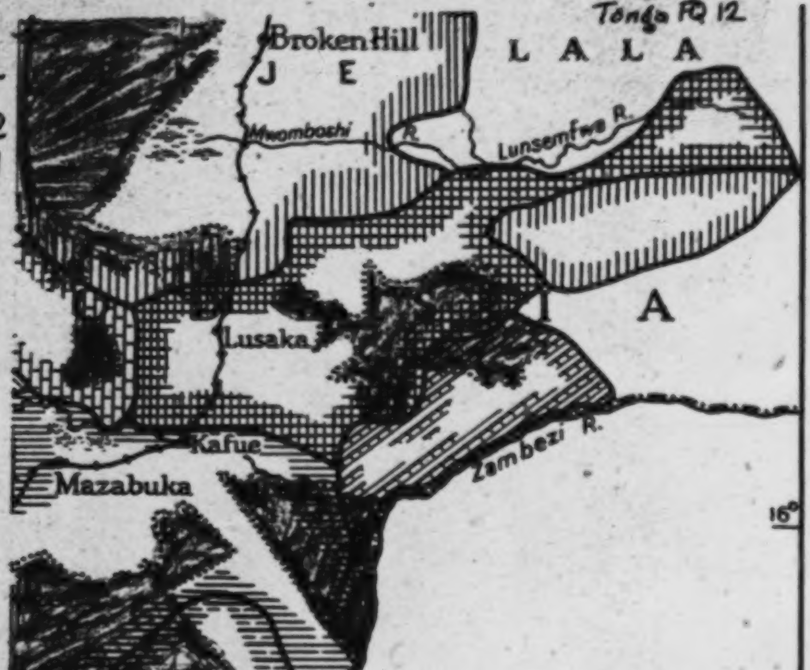
● IST
● 102
131


pia....
Kafue R.
K A O
L E
Mumbwa
R N
R H
A
YA
Kasenga
Kafue R.
Mazabu
Q
G
A
zi
K A
Choma
Kaloma
S
R
Kanchindu
Livingstone
26°
28°

END MAP (E)

4: Jaspan E-4 (no date) 1953 FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ11
Tonga FQ 12

● IST
● 102
131


Broken Hill
J E
L A L A
Mwomboshi R.
Lunsemfwa R.
A
Lusaka
Kafue
Mazabuka
Zambezi R.
16°
SOUTHERN
RHODESIA
chindu
28°
30°

End Map (F)

4: Jaspan
● 105

●FQ6 Ila FQ6
Subia FQ11
Tonga FQ12

[For a brief introduction in the form of a cultural summary to the Ila and closely related Subia and Tonga tribes, see category 116, pp. 1-42.]

1: Murdock--1 E-4 (No date) 1958 F1 Africa
Ila FQ6
Ila

105

Identification

The Ila (Baila, Baschukulompo, Mashikolumbere, Mashukolumbwe), with whom are included the closely related Bizhi, Lumbu (Nanzela), Lundwe, and Mbala, are a Bantu nation, closely akin in language to the Lenje, Sala, and Tonga. They are reported to number 43,000 in 1915 on about 9,000 miles, but a 1946 estimate gives 20,000 Ila, 2,000 Bizhi, 2,000 Lumbu, 4,000 Lundwe, and 7,000 Mbala--a total of 35,000. Some Pygmies (Twa) live in swamps in the Ila country. The Mbala were twice raided by the Chikunda in the 19th century. The Ila were invaded by the Kololo in the 1820's and thereafter paid tribute to the Lozi kingdom.

Basic Economy

Agriculture and animal husbandry are of primary and perhaps equal importance [Jaspan says primarily pastoral]. There is also considerable though subsidiary hunting and fishing and some gathering. Shifting hoe cultivation with brand-tillage prevails; there is no fallowing, crop rotation, or artificial fertilization. The staple crops are maize and sorghum, followed by bulrush millet and eleusine; other crops include beans, earth peas, peanuts, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, and a little manioc. Cattle are numerous, numbering 70,000 in 1920, 47,000 in 1947. Milk is a staple article of diet, and butter is made, chiefly for anointment. Other domestic animals are goats, sheep, dogs (numerous), chickens (flesh but not eggs eaten), and pigeons. There is seasonal transhumance, cattle being driven to the banks of the river in the dry season (June to August).

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt, fish, herd, milk, clear the land, and do some agriculture in private gardens. The women gather and do most of the hoeing, planting, and weeding.

Property

The most important possessions are cattle, followed by slaves. Land is collectively owned by the community, is non-inheritable, and is administered by the local headman.

105

There is "positional inheritance" of livestock, slaves, personal possessions, widows, and social status, as among the Bemba. The heir is selected after considerable discussion by a council of relatives; though usually a matrilineal kinsman, he may be a son. The heir distributes a considerable share of his inheritance among the sons, sisters' sons, and brothers of the deceased, with a traditional share to the family of the mother of the deceased.

Social Stratification

Slavery is very common, and results from purchase, debt, or crime. A slave may be redeemed by his relatives. The children of a purchased female slave are slaves, but if by her owner are free and are affiliated with his sib. Status distinctions among freemen include prestige for wealth in cattle and moderate prerogatives for the families of chiefs and headmen.

Marriage

A girl is usually betrothed at her initiation. A substantial bride-price is paid in cattle (averaging 4-6 head), in addition to blankets, shells, and hoes. It is provided largely by a man's matrilineal relatives with some help from his patrilineal kinsmen, and is distributed chiefly to the bride's maternal kinsmen with a very small share to her parents. The bride-price gives the husband the right to remove his wife immediately and gives him a claim to his children. Bride-service does not occur.

Polygyny is general and exclusively non-sororal. The first wife is chief wife, and each co-wife has her own hut. Men regularly allow their wives to have a publicly recognized paramour, from whom he receives payments. There is preferential levirate and permitted sororate. Secondary unions are also allowed with FaWi and MoBrWi.

Family

The normal household unit is a patrilocal extended family, occupying a compound separated from others by a fence. Extended families are not confirmed by Jaspan.

105

Residence

Residence is normally patrilocal, a son remaining in his father's village even if he leaves his household. Avunculocal residence is the norm for chiefs, and the maternal uncle has marked authority; he could formerly sell his SiCh into slavery. Grown children occupy a separate hut for each sex in the family compound.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local agamy prevails.

There is preferential marriage with FaSiDa. Unions with parallel cousins are forbidden; also with MoBrDa, though this was once a preferred marriage.

There are about 93 exogamous, totemic, non-localized matri-sibs (mukoa). The members of a sib residing in a "commune" constitute a matri-lineage. The fact that each sib is traditionally associated with a particular locality suggests former clan localization. There are also exogamous, localized patri-lineages (lunungu), associated with the worship of patrilineal ancestors; membership in a patri-lineage is a justification of patrilineal inheritance. Sib exogamy extends to sex relations. A man is regarded as having honorary membership in his father's matri-sib. Patrilineal descent prevails for the children of slave wives.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--tata. Mo--bama, nina, noko. Ch--mwana [ngu]. Sibling--mukwesu. ElBr(ms), ElSi)ws)--mukando. YoBr(ms), YoSi(ws)--mwanicha[ngu]. Si(ws)--mwenzuma. Si(ms), Br(ws)--muchizi. Br(ws)--muchizi.

Avuncular and nepotic terms are of bifurcate merging type.

Cousin terminology is basically of Iroquois type, though somewhat mixed by alternative terms.

Settlement Pattern

There are settled villages of 3-200 huts arranged in a circle or horseshoe around a central cattle corral, with the headman's hut opposite the main entrance facing west. Each extended family occupies a separate compound. Huts are round in ground plan with mud-plastered cylindrical walls and conical thatched roofs.

Community Organization

Clans are absent. Tooth extraction was formerly practiced. There are age-grades, with initiation ceremonies every 4-5 years; an age-set consists of all males and females born in the same year and initiated together.

Local Government

Each village has a headman and an informal council of elders. Succession is usually but not necessarily matrilineal.

State

Villages are grouped into "communes"(cishi) of from 100 to 300 inhabitants, consisting of several villages of equal size or of a large one and several smaller ones. Each commune or district has a chief, for whom the village headmen form a council; he is war leader and receives tribute. A new chief is selected by a funerary council of sibmates and commune elders. Though succession is basically matrilineal (with avunculocal residence), it is not necessarily so, and a So or BrSo may be chosen; wealth is an important criterion. Among the Lumbu, succession is still strictly matrilineal. Among the Ila the son of a slave mother is often preferred since he has no matrilineal kinsmen and is thus "more likely to have the interests of the community at heart." There is no political integration above the level of the "commune."

Warfare

Communes are in "a constant state of feud," and there have been defensive wars against Lozi and Ndebele raiders.

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Smith, E.W., and W.M.Dale. The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. 2 vols. London, 1920. Nkd85.B15.920s. (An excellent general monograph.)

111 FQ6 Ila

1: Smith, Edwin W. and Andrew Murray Dale. The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. Vol. 1. London: MacMillan and Co., 1920.

Pp. xxviii, 423; 125 text figures; 1 map.

Yale: Nkd85 B15 920s 1

[This is the first of two volumes, the second being 2: Smith & Dale, this file. The two volumes were processed as separate sources because both are individually paginated. The basic source on the Ila, this work was written by Smith, a missionary, and Dale, a government administrator. At the beginning of each chapter, asterisks indicate which man was primarily responsible for the section. Smith is indicated by one, Dale by two, and three are given where both played a part. This volume covers the history and physical anthropology of the group as one part. The second part goes into the economic life, material culture, and medicine of the Ila. The third part deals with the various aspects of social organization and law. --Analyst]

Field date: 1902-1914
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary, Government Official-5
Processed in 1961

2: Smith, Edwin W. and Andrew Murray Dale. The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. Vol. 2. London: MacMillan and Co., 1920.

Pp. xvi, 433; 61 text figures

Yale: Nkd85 B15 920s 2

[This is the second of two volumes which constitute the basic work on the Ila, the first volume of which has been processed as 1:Smith & Dale, this file. This volume deals with the Ila life cycle, sexual behavior, religion, language, leisure time activities, and folklore. The portions presented in Latin by the authors, primarily dealing with sexual activities, have been translated by Hunt and inserted as an appendix at the end of this volume (pp. 434-436). --Analyst]

Field date: 1902-1914 Evaluation: Missionary, Government Official-5
Analyst: James R. Leary Processed in 1961

3: Smith, Edwin W. Addendum to the "Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia." African Studies, Vol. 8, pp. 1-9, 53-61. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1949.

Yale: Nkd74 Af7 8-9

[This article was written by one of the co-authors of the basic source on the Ila (see 1: Smith & Dale and 2: Smith & Dale, this file). After an absence of thirty years, the author returned for a brief visit to Ila country. In the first part of the article he describes the changes that have taken place in Ila society in the last thirty years as a result of contact with western civilization. In the second part of the article he presents some new material gathered by himself on sib and lineage composition. --Analyst]

Field date: 1902, 1947
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1961

4: Jaspan, M. A. The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia. Ethnographic Survey of Africa. Edited by Daryll Forde. West Central Africa, Part 4. London: International African Institute, 1953.

Pp. 72; end map; foreword by editor; index; bibliography

HRAF copy

[This source was compiled primarily from Smith & Dale (see sources 1, 2, and 3, this file) although some additional material is contained. A summary of Ila culture, it also deals with the Tonga, FQ12, and Subia, FQ11. Pp. 43-61 have not been processed, since they do not deal with the Ila. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

5: Brelsford, Vernon. Lubambo: A Description of the Baila Custom. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 63, pp. 433-439. London, 1933.

Yale: Nk10 +R81 v. 63

[This article, by a government official trained in ethnology, deals with several tribally sanctioned institutions of the Ila which allow for regularized extra-marital sexual activity. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1932
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

6: Evans, A. J. The Ila V. D. Campaign. Human Problems in British Central Africa, IX, The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 9, pp. 40-47. Cape Town, London, New York: Published for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute by Oxford University Press, 1950.

Yale: Bk21. 2nc. v. 6-10

[This source is an account of the public health program instituted by the British government among the Ila people, in an attempt to bring venereal disease under control. A second basic purpose of this health program was to examine the various forms of venereal disease, as a possible causative factor in the drastic birth rate reduction among the Ila.

In general, the article gives only scant ethnographic information, but it does present some data on birth statistics, and native ideas about disease. --Analyst]

Field date: 1946
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1961

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PREFACE

As we hope that this work may be taken as a serious contribution to African ethnography, it is perhaps best that we should present our credentials and describe briefly our methods of research and the principles that have guided us. 114

When we entered the Ila country—the one in 1902 and the other at the end of 1904—neither was a stranger to African life. Mr. Smith had served his Church for four years in South Africa and knew the Suto and (to some extent) the Xosa languages. Mr. Dale, after serving in the Matabele and Bechuanaland campaigns and the Boer War, was for three years (1902–4) Assistant Native Commissioner of the Wankie district in Southern Rhodesia, knew the Tebele language, and had also travelled among the Tonga people on the north bank of the Zambesi.

Finding ourselves among a people that were almost unknown to the outside world, we threw ourselves into a study of their language and customs, our motive being, not the production of a book of this kind, but simply that we might prosecute our callings as missionary and magistrate to the best advantage. For whether one is to teach or govern, one's first duty is to understand the people. In the course of years we found our stock of information accumulating, and in 1909 we determined to collaborate in a book that should record the results of our research. From that time we continued our investigations deliberately with that end in view. From first to last, this book is, then, the result of some thirteen years' first-hand study. 114 121

The completion and publication of the book have been delayed by the War. When news of its outbreak reached us, Mr. Dale immediately left the farm which he had been 680

173 and was buried in the sacred grove, Isaka-chazi. There was great lamentation. People said : 'Let us all die. Leza wills that our *mushobo* (tribe) shall never be strong on earth. The kingdom has perished with Shilumweemwe for there is no one to take his place. Let us starve to death rather than kill each other!' So they burnt their grain and threw pots and mortars and grinding stones into the river. They mourned without feasting. One old man, moved with pity for his little grandson, hid some food and others followed his example.

"And so the nation as a nation came to an end. It split into fragments as we see it to-day. Men to whom the king had entrusted his cattle to herd now claimed them as their own, built villages apart and set up to be chieflings of separate communes. Peace came to an end. Inter-communal visitings ceased. Cattle-raiding became the normal thing. One commune made war upon another. Whole sections of the nation moved off and became distrinct tribes, as did Batonga and Balenje, and in course of time learnt to speak different dialects. And so things are what they are to-day in the land where once flourished a great kingdom."

114
173 In this story as related by Syapela Price no mention is made of the Chiefs whose story is told in the *Ila-Speaking Peoples*—of Shimunenga, Munyama, Bulongo—nor of others who are still reverenced as divinities. Presumably they came on the scene subsequent to the decline and fall of the kingdom.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

631
177 Of the changes that have taken place in the Ila country none is of greater interest and more promising for the future than the substitution of "indirect" for "direct" rule, i.e. the recognition of Native Authorities as an integral element of administration. In Northern Rhodesia the transformation began in 1930 when the old Native courts were re-established and given certain powers. In 1936 Native Treasuries and Appeal

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BA-ILA

● 114 No ONE is more aware than I of the deficiences of the *Ila-speaking Peoples*. I always hoped that other investigators would fill the gaps that Dale and I left, particularly in regard to social organization; but up to the present this has not been done. The defects are all the more glaring in view of the full analysis of some other tribes that has been provided by recent researchers: Evans-Pritchard for the Nuer, Fortes for the Tallensi, Forde for the Yako. The Ɓaila are included in the seven-year research plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and no doubt as a result of it we shall learn much more about them. Meanwhile I took advantage of my visit to ask some questions. The time at my disposal was insufficient to push inquiries to a satisfactory conclusion; but I record a few notes in the hope that they may be useful to other workers.

1. *The Mushobo*

619 If the Baila are asked what constitutes a *mushobo* they reply that it is made up of persons who (a) speak a common language, albeit with some dialectal variation; (b) have the same colour of skin; (c) practise the same customs; and (d) belong to kinship groups through which they are genetically linked with the ancestors who founded the larger group of the *mushobo*. We may translate

[P. 53(B)]

II. *THE ILA*

The main body of material concerning the Ila was gathered by Smith and Dale during the first 20 years of this century.[1] Brief additional notes based on subsequent visits to the Ila have been published since the end of the Second World War.[2] The ethnographic value of the material on the Ila is undoubted, but its contemporary sociological significance is necessarily limited in view of the great changes that have occurred in Northern Rhodesia since the beginning of the century. 114

ECONOMY

The following notes may be added to the remarks on the ecology of Ilaland contained in the Introductory Section (p. 20 above). 13

The wide plains through which the Kafue flows are among the most fertile in Northern Rhodesia. Immediately alongside the river banks there are villages inhabited by the swamp-dwelling Twa. Their gardens in the rich alluvial loam are exceptionally fertile, even in this area. The sandy forest and jungle bush bordering the banks are also used for cultivation.[3]

To the north of the Kafue plain the hills of Mbala are infested with tsetse. To the south the sand-hills and forests rise to the Batoka Plateau. At Ndongola, at the foot of the western hills, there are sulphurous springs. The Balumbwa mountain was in the past an important sanctuary.

The swamp-lands bordering the Kafue and its tributaries are mosquito-infested, and there is consequently a high incidence of malaria in the Kafue valley.[4]

STOCK-REARING

The Ila were primarily pastoralists. Their rather small indigenous cattle were improved by the introduction of larger-sized stock from the Lozi and Lake Ngami peoples, but these are said to have suffered constant deterioration from inbreeding. In 1920 the Ila owned about 70,000 head of cattle, the largest owners possessing herds of up to 600.[5] In 1947, however, the number of cattle was estimated at only 47,000, a fall of 23,000 in 27 years. This decline in cattle population has been attributed to the encroachment of tsetse north of the Kafue River.[6] 233

Until the organized cattle sales at the time of the Second World War, the Ila generally did not sell their cattle, but slaughtered them at funeral feasts. Smith and Dale estimated that about 2,000 oxen were killed annually in this way. There are special " funeral oxen " (*masunto*) in almost every cattle-owner's herd, and these are slaughtered at their owner's funeral feast. Cows, however, are seldom killed because of their great value as food producers in the domestic economy.

The products derived from animal husbandry are sour milk, curds and whey, and butter which is used mostly for anointing. In addition to the beef consumed at funeral feasts, goat, sheep, and poultry meat are eaten.

The Ila value their cattle highly and are famous as good herdsmen.[7] Each cattle-owner brands his beasts' ears with his individual mark (*chando*);[8] all cattle are named. [422]

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[1] Smith and Dale, 1920, 2 vols.
[2] Smith, 1949.
[3] Smith and Dale, 1920, I, pp. 3, 9.
[4] Ibid., pp. 9, 11.
[5] Ibid., pp. 127 ff.
[6] Smith, 1949, p. 1.
[7] Smith and Dale, 1920, I, pp. 127–8; Gluckman, 1941, pp. 20–1.
[8] Smith and Dale, loc. cit.

or ** *, according as one or the other predominates. But 128
every chapter has been revised by us both in all the stages of writing, and the information collected by the one carefully checked by the other, so that we may claim the collaboration to have been of the closest.

We have no need to point out to those who have preceded 124
us in this line the many difficulties we have had to face, and only those know the difficulties who have essayed the same task. The Ba-ila do not readily communicate to a foreigner their ideas and customs; direct interrogation often fails—generally fails, indeed, except where complete confidence has been won beforehand—for they either profess to know nothing or deliberately give misleading answers. It is only by tactfully leading conversation in the desired direction and not pressing it too far that one succeeds in getting information in this way. We have been assiduous 124'
note-takers, not trusting to our memories, and our book 126
is partly the outcome of many hundreds of conversations recorded at the time and carefully collated. Most of what we have written about we have witnessed, and our impressions were noted at once. In some instances where we could not see the ceremonies we were able to induce trustworthy men to dictate us descriptions of them. Neither missionary nor magistrate can afford, as passing travellers sometimes have allowed themselves, to intrude upon the sanctities of native life, and hence there are some things about which we can report only at second hand, but in all such cases we have been careful to get the most reliable evidence.

We aimed at securing a large collection of native texts. 126
The Ba-ila had no written literature; when we knew them 115
first their language had never been reduced to writing; and so we had to obtain these texts in one of two ways—either by writing them ourselves from dictation or, in later years, by employing the assistance of young men trained in the mission schools. By far the greater part of our collection was written down by ourselves.

Of our assistants, one, a true Mwila, lived with Mr. Smith for ten years and became very expert in this department. After having a long conversation with a friendly

126 chief, in the course of which some custom had been discussed, we would instruct this young man, Kayobe, to write down
115 the substance at once, and with training he became able to do this with great accuracy; then, if some points were found obscure, Kayobe would have further interviews with the chief—who might be more frank with him alone—and bring us the record in writing. Sometimes he would write us spontaneously a long account of something he had known or had discovered for himself. Such accounts, and indeed all we received from him, were carefully checked with others. His help has been invaluable to us, and we are glad to put it on record.

Our other native helper is a son of Sezongo II. of Nanzela, a very intelligent young man, who, besides writing down notes on customs, collected from old chiefs and wrote down a history of his father's people.

124 We have aimed throughout at drawing information from the old men. We became on friendly terms with many of the elderly chiefs, and in particular with Mungalo of Kasenga, who gave us a great deal of information, and whose death was not only a loss to our book, but was felt with great personal sorrow by us both. None of our native informants, we may mention, spoke English.

128 These native texts we desired to publish in parallel columns with an English translation, in imitation of Dr. Calloway's *Religious System of the Amazulu*, but this has not been found possible. We have quoted the translation largely, and often where no quotation marks are employed our descriptions follow it closely.

127 Another source of information drawn upon by us is the records of cases tried in the magistrates' courts. With the permission of His Honour the Administrator (whose interest in our work we gratefully acknowledge) and with the hearty co-operation of the officials, we were able to examine and analyse these records. We have quoted many of the cases, changing the names of the parties concerned; but apart from these illustrations the records were of great assistance in setting us on the track of customs and ideas we did not know of before.

128 Our work, it will be seen, is not prepared for ordinary

Sebitwane settled for a time at Kapoli near Kalomo 173
and imposed his rule upon the tribes around, but the Ba-ila 721
were not easily subdued. He went against them, first to Kasenga, where, after a day's fighting and heavy losses, they were defeated. Thence he went to Kabulamwanda and Mbeza. Having defeated Munyati at the latter place, he proceeded against the Bwengwa people, and thence to the Kafue to deal with the Batwa. He captured some of these unfortunates and compelled them to ferry his army across the river. The Batwa attempted no resistance, but all who could fled into their native swamps. Thence Sebitwane proceeded to Nyambo, where the Ba-ila offered great resistance, but after three days' fighting he defeated them. The Makololo drove off all the cattle, and, it is said, killed all the warriors they could get hold of, as well as the old men and women. Thence he went on as far as Shianamwenda (Longo), the Basala chieftainess, who submitted to him.

An old chief named Mukubu, living in Busala, is one of 115
our informants for much of this history. He is indeed one 173
of the most interesting men we have ever met. He was 721
taken as a lad by Sebitwane from Longo and brought up in Barotsiland. He has described to us the coming of Livingstone and Oswell (" Mandevu ") ; he was present when the fatal accident befell Sebitwane ; he later became Livingstone's servant, travelled with him to the west coast, and was with him when he discovered the Victoria Falls. He accompanied Sekeletu to Chimbulamukoa. Later he went with Livingstone as far as Zumbo. He seems to have had a share in all the subsequent fighting. He piloted the pioneers of the Baila-Batonga mission from Barotsiland to Nkala. He was then sent by Lewanika back to his native district of Busala to act as his representative. We asked him once to enumerate the men he had killed in battle, and with vivid detail he counted up to thirty-six, nearly all slain in single combat ; they included representatives of most of the tribes against whom in his days the Makololo and Barotsi have fought.

While Sebitwane was still at Kapoli he had once again 173
to meet a Matabele impi. He had sent an army under 721

173 721 one of his captains, Shili, to cross the Zambesi and raid Umziligazi's cattle. He succeeded to some extent, but the

[115]

Photo E. W. Smith.

MUKUBU, DR. LIVINGSTONE'S SERVANT.

infuriated Matabele followed hard upon his heels. Hearing of their approach, Sebitwane withdrew to Sachitema and there at the mountain named by the Makololo *thaba ea*

175
721
In the second they raided all the country on the south of the Kafue, from Kabulamwanda to Nkala. The memory

[142
291
115]

Photo E. W. Smith.

LESELO, ONE OF OUR INFORMANTS.

A Balumbu Type.

of this raid is still very vivid in the minds of the Ba-ila, and they cannot repress a groan when they recall the immense

he would die of smallpox as Shambamba had died. The 175
position was then offered to and accepted by Mungaila.
Later on, Mungalo repented or, as he said, his spirit had now 648
given him instructions to assume the chiefship, and a quarrel was the result, for Mungaila naturally refused to abdicate. Some time afterwards one of Mungaila's men, Mwanankumba, took possession of some of Mungalo's land and began to build on it. As he refused to move, Mungalo attacked him and killed some of his people. Mungaila intervened to support his vassal, and as some of the other chiefs stood by Mungalo the fight became general. After a while Mungaila died—bewitched, it is said—and his younger "brother" took his name and position, while his nephew Shibenzu succeeded him at Kantengwa. Fighting still went on, and Mungaila sent to ask for the help of the European police. It is commonly said that Mungalo sent two blood-stained spears to the police camp as a challenge, but it seems that the spears really came from Mungaila, who misrepresented the matter to secure the help of the police. Colonel Harding, with other white officers and a host of native allies, marched to Mala; Mungalo fled, was captured, and sent into exile for some years. Eventually he was allowed to return to Mala. [115] We knew him well. He was a particular friend of one of us, and was one of our chief informants on the history and customs of the Ba-ila. He died, about seventy years of age, in 1911. We do not agree with Colonel Harding's estimate of him: "A lying, servile hypocrite."[1]

After this incident a police camp was established at Nkala. Then in 1903 civil administration was introduced into the southern Kafue district, and in 1905 Mr. Dale took charge of the greater part of the Ba-ila.

As a result of these movements the anarchic state of the [177] country, as portrayed in the earlier part of this chapter, came to an end; intercommunal warfare, raids from the outside, and slave-trading have all become things of the past, and earnest efforts are being made to introduce law and order into the country.

The impression given by this chapter that the relations

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[1] Colonel C. Harding, *In Remotest Barotseland* (London, 1905), p. 348. He gives his version of these feuds, pp. 343 *et seq.*

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THE ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

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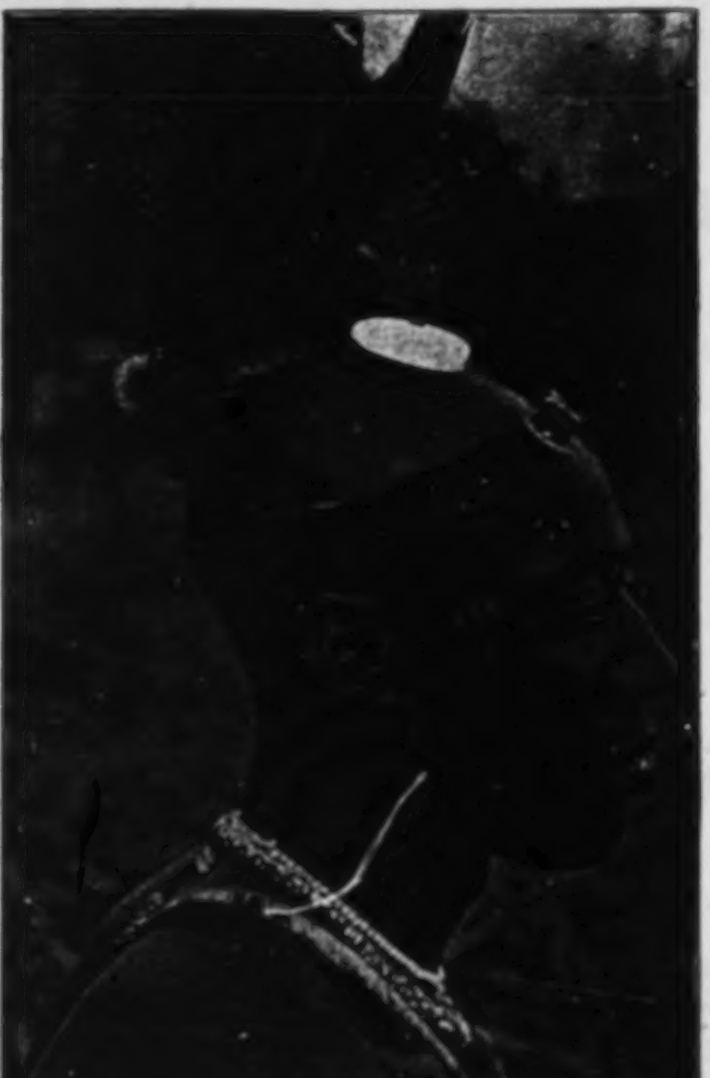

Photo E. W. Smith.

THE SUPERIOR ILA TYPE.
(See p. 39.)

Notice the three cuts on the temple (a tribal mark), the white impande, the tall head-dress (only partly shown), and the birds' feathers.

[p. iv]

THE
ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES
OF
NORTHERN RHODESIA

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I

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TO

OUR MOTHERS

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PREFACE

114 As we hope that this work may be taken as a serious contribution to African ethnography, it is perhaps best that we should present our credentials and describe briefly our methods of research and the principles that have guided us.

When we entered the Ila country—the one in 1902 and the other at the end of 1904—neither was a stranger to African life. Mr. Smith had served his Church for four years in South Africa and knew the Suto and (to some extent) the Xosa languages. Mr. Dale, after serving in the Matabele and Bechuanaland campaigns and the Boer War, was for three years (1902–4) Assistant Native Commissioner of the Wankie district in Southern Rhodesia, knew the Tebele language, and had also travelled among the Tonga people on the north bank of the Zambesi.

114 121 Finding ourselves among a people that were almost unknown to the outside world, we threw ourselves into a study of their language and customs, our motive being, not the production of a book of this kind, but simply that we might prosecute our callings as missionary and magistrate to the best advantage. For whether one is to teach or govern, one's first duty is to understand the people. In the course of years we found our stock of information accumulating, and in 1909 we determined to collaborate in a book that should record the results of our research. From that time we continued our investigations deliberately with that end in view. From first to last, this book is, then, the result of some thirteen years' first-hand study.

600 The completion and publication of the book have been delayed by the War. When news of its outbreak reached us, Mr. Dale immediately left the farm which he had been

000 occupying since leaving the British South Africa Company's service in 1910, and obtained a commission in the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Mr. Smith returned to England in the following spring and went at once to the Front as chaplain. Captain Dale was severely wounded at Loos in the September advance (1915), and after recovery was invalided out of the army and returned to the British South Africa Company's service. Our manuscript was complete as to material but somewhat chaotic in form in 1915, and revision for publication had to wait until a fitting time. Then further delay ensued as conditions were not propitious for the publication of such a work.

We trust that the co-operation of missionary and magistrate may prove to be as successful as we have hoped. For ourselves—without wishing to prejudge our own attempt—we think the conjunction a happy one. It is commonly said that clergymen see the best in human nature and lawyers the worst; if they put their heads together they should be able to see life whole. Too often in Africa there is a certain amount of restraint between the government officials and the missionaries. Such should not be, and we are happy in the knowledge that between us nothing of the kind ever existed. Working along different lines and using different methods, we recognised that our aim was one, and were able cordially and loyally to support each other. 123 And then working in our different spheres, as might be expected, we became familiar with different aspects of the life of the Ba-ila. On his constant peregrinations through the district and in his court, the magistrate was in touch with many things that did not come much in the way of the missionary, who, however, in his more stationary life had his own advantages. After Mr. Dale left the government service in 1910 and settled on a farm within sight of the Kasenga Mission, we had very frequent opportunities for consultation.

The field was carefully mapped out between us. The 123 sections for which Mr. Smith is primarily responsible are those marked with an asterisk under the chapter heading; Captain Dale's are marked with two asterisks; and the chapters in which both have had a share are marked * **

or ** *, according as one or the other predominates. But 128
every chapter has been revised by us both in all the stages
of writing, and the information collected by the one carefully checked by the other, so that we may claim the collaboration to have been of the closest.

We have no need to point out to those who have preceded 124
us in this line the many difficulties we have had to face, and only those know the difficulties who have essayed the same task. The Ba-ila do not readily communicate to a foreigner their ideas and customs; direct interrogation often fails—generally fails, indeed, except where complete confidence has been won beforehand—for they either profess to know nothing or deliberately give misleading answers. It is only by tactfully leading conversation in the desired direction and not pressing it too far that one succeeds in
getting information in this way. We have been assiduous 124
note-takers, not trusting to our memories, and our book 126
is partly the outcome of many hundreds of conversations recorded at the time and carefully collated. Most of what we have written about we have witnessed, and our impressions were noted at once. In some instances where we could not see the ceremonies we were able to induce trustworthy men to dictate us descriptions of them. Neither missionary nor magistrate can afford, as passing travellers sometimes have allowed themselves, to intrude upon the sanctities of native life, and hence there are some things about which we can report only at second hand, but in all such cases we have been careful to get the most reliable evidence.

We aimed at securing a large collection of native texts. 126
The Ba-ila had no written literature; when we knew them 115
first their language had never been reduced to writing; and so we had to obtain these texts in one of two ways—either by writing them ourselves from dictation or, in later years, by employing the assistance of young men trained in the mission schools. By far the greater part of our collection was written down by ourselves.

Of our assistants, one, a true Mwila, lived with Mr. Smith for ten years and became very expert in this department. After having a long conversation with a friendly

126 chief, in the course of which some custom had been discussed, we would instruct this young man, Kayobe, to write down 115 the substance at once, and with training he became able to do this with great accuracy; then, if some points were found obscure, Kayobe would have further interviews with the chief—who might be more frank with him alone—and bring us the record in writing. Sometimes he would write us spontaneously a long account of something he had known or had discovered for himself. Such accounts, and indeed all we received from him, were carefully checked with others. His help has been invaluable to us, and we are glad to put it on record.

Our other native helper is a son of Sezongo II. of Nanzela, a very intelligent young man, who, besides writing down notes on customs, collected from old chiefs and wrote down a history of his father's people.

We have aimed throughout at drawing information from 124 the old men. We became on friendly terms with many of the elderly chiefs, and in particular with Mungalo of Kasenga, who gave us a great deal of information, and whose death was not only a loss to our book, but was felt with great personal sorrow by us both. None of our native informants, we may mention, spoke English.

128 These native texts we desired to publish in parallel columns with an English translation, in imitation of Dr. Calloway's *Religious System of the Amazulu*, but this has not been found possible. We have quoted the translation largely, and often where no quotation marks are employed our descriptions follow it closely.

127 Another source of information drawn upon by us is the records of cases tried in the magistrates' courts. With the permission of His Honour the Administrator (whose interest in our work we gratefully acknowledge) and with the hearty co-operation of the officials, we were able to examine and analyse these records. We have quoted many of the cases, changing the names of the parties concerned; but apart from these illustrations the records were of great assistance in setting us on the track of customs and ideas we did not know of before.

129 Our work, it will be seen, is not prepared for ordinary

domestic consumption. We have endeavoured to describe the life as it is in actuality, and any one attempting this with frankness must be prepared to see his work confined to a comparatively narrow circle of readers. While not professing to be scientifically trained anthropologists, we have written with such experts in mind, and if we have succeeded in giving them any valuable material for their studies we shall be glad. 128

At the same time we wish to say that we have studied the Ba-ila, not as curious zoological specimens, but as fellow men and women; our interest in them is far from being academic. We have devoted some of our best years to their improvement. We believe them to be a people of great capacity, who with sympathetic, patient, firm guidance may advance very far. And in writing our book we have had our successors in view, whether magistrates or missionaries. They will take up their labours at a more advanced point than that at which we could commence ours; we trust their success will be proportionately greater than ours. It is a doctrine commonly enough taught in these days, but (if we may assume the preacher's gown for a moment) we would like here to emphasise its truth on all who follow us. We would say to them: learn to look at the world through the eyes of your people, make their language and ways of thinking as much as possible your own, saturate yourself in their folklore. If your studies in preparation for your present task have had to do with law and theology, let your mind now be given to the people, and study them with an ardour equal at least to that you gave to your professional studies. And withal, do not forget that these Ba-ila are flesh and blood and soul as you and we are. It is to help you and so help the Ba-ila that we have chiefly written this book.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help we have received from colleagues in the Mission and Service and from others, either in the way of items of information, suggestions, or photographs: Mrs. E. W. Smith and Mrs. Price; the Revs. Arthur Baldwin, W. Chapman, J. W. Price, J. A. Kerswell; Messrs. F. V. Worthington (late Secretary for Native Affairs), Macaulay, Nicholls, Handley, Heath, Ryan, Earee, Daffarn, Lynch. From the Directors of the British South 000

600 Africa Company we have received encouragement and assistance. Dr. Rivers of Cambridge and Sir H. H. Johnston have kindly read over parts of our manuscript and favoured us with suggestions. Professor Conway of Manchester University translated those few sections that we thought better to put into Latin. To all these we offer our thanks.

The small community of British resident in the Kafue districts of Northern Rhodesia has a fine record in the War—proportionate to its numbers, a record second to none. The Administration was embarrassed by the numbers of officials who were eager to leave their posts to join the fighting forces; many returned to England for the purpose, or joined the expedition under Major Boyd Cunningham that was sent to the German East Africa frontier, an expedition that comprised almost every man among the settlers who had not already enlisted in other units. Those who remained, while their friends were moving amidst stirring events elsewhere, did equally valuable service in quietly carrying on their work of controlling the erstwhile turbulent tribes. It is a fine testimony, alike to the loyalty of the natives and to the character of the British South Africa Company's rule, that the natives, who readily appreciated the justness of the cause in which the Empire was fighting, not only remained quiet, but served in large numbers as carriers. The natives of Rhodesia and the whole of South Africa, represented by our enemies as groaning beneath the heel of England, never had a better opportunity of throwing off their allegiance than during the preoccupation of Britain in the War; at least they might have caused very serious embarrassment; and they remained splendidly loyal. Let that be remembered.

Of those whose help we have recorded, Ryan went to command a vessel in the northern seas and do very valuable work in submarine detection; Daffarn was early killed on the German frontier; Macaulay, who had recently retired from the Service after a long career, was killed on the Western front; Lynch fell, a Lieut.-Colonel and D.S.O., at the head of his battalion; Handley, after serving through the Cameroons campaign, was twice wounded in France, gained the Military Cross and bar, and finally was killed while leading his company of Coldstream Guards into

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action; Heath and Earee both served in France, and the former was wounded. Nor can we forget the two veterans, whose names will always be associated with the early exploration of North-west Rhodesia—Colonel Gibbons and Captain F. C. Selous, D.S.O., who were killed, the one in Gallipoli and the other in East Africa. Little did we think, when first drafting this Preface early in 1914, that we should have to conclude it in this way.

EDWIN W. SMITH.
ANDREW DALE.

P.S.—This preface was already printed when news came from Africa that, for me as for others, took the spring out of the year. Andrew Dale died of blackwater fever at Mumbwa, Northern Rhodesia, on May 1, 1919. He did not live to see a line of our book in type. It was as a crippled and broken man, without a regret, that, after heroic suffering, he returned to Africa and re-entered the British South Africa Company's service in the hope of setting free a younger and more active man for military duty. It was always his express desire that the personal note should be kept out of our book, and so, though I could and would like to write more of my friend, I refrain. I will only say that of the men I have known none has come nearer my ideal of what a man should be. Happy Britain to have such sons as he to represent her among the backward races!

E. W. S.

UNION CLUB, ROME,
June 28, 1919.

[p. xvi is blank]

CONTENTS

PAGE
PREFACE . . . . ix 080
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xxi
INTRODUCTORY NOTE xxv

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT 3

CHAPTER II

HISTORY 17
1. PREHISTORIC 17
2. THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE BA-ILA . . 22
3. CONFLICTS WITH FOREIGN FOES . . . 25
4. CONTACT OF THE BA-ILA WITH EUROPEANS . . 46
APPENDIX: NAMES OF CHIEFS 57

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: DRESS AND DECORATION . 59
1. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS 59
2. CLOTHING AND DECORATION 96

PART II

880

CHAPTER IV

PAGE
BUILDING OPERATIONS AND VILLAGE LIFE 109
  1. DESCRIPTION OF A VILLAGE 109
  2. LIFE IN A NATIVE VILLAGE 123

CHAPTER V

DOMESTIC ANIMALS 127

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE, FOODS, NARCOTICS 135
  1. METHODS OF AGRICULTURE 135
  2. A CALENDAR 140
  3. FOODS AND COOKING 142
  4. A LIST OF FOODS AND DRINKS . . . 149
  5. NARCOTICS 152

CHAPTER VII

HUNTING AND FISHING 153
  1. METHODS OF HUNTING 153
  2. METHODS OF FISHING 159
  3. SOME HUNTING AND FISHING CUSTOMS . . 167

CHAPTER VIII

WARFARE 170

CHAPTER IX

VARIOUS HANDICRAFTS 180
  1. WORK IN IVORY 180
  2. SKIN-DRESSING 183
  3. STRINGS 183
  4. BASKETRY 187

PAGE
5. Working in Clay 191
6. Woodwork 196
7. Ironwork: (*a*) Smelting 202
8. „ (*b*) Blacksmithing 211

CHAPTER X

Leechcraft 222
1. Ba-ila Ideas of Anatomy and Physiology . 222
2. Medicines 228
3. Diseases and Remedies 231
4. The Causes of Disease 244
5. Snake-bites, etc. 245
6. The Use of Aphrodisiacs, etc. . . . 249
7. Amulets and Talismans 250
8. The Practitioners: (*a*) The Diviner . . 265
9. „ „ (*b*) The Doctor . . 272

PART III

CHAPTER XI

Social Organisation 283
1. The Family 283
2. The Clan 287
3. The Community 298
4. Secondary Social Groups 308
Appendix I.: List of Mikoa 310
„ II.: List of Communities 313

CHAPTER XII

Terms of Relationship 316

CHAPTER XIII

000

PAGE
REGULATION OF THE COMMUNAL LIFE 343
1. THE SANCTIONS 343
2. CHISAPI, BUDITAZHI, TONDA 346
3. JUDICIAL PROCESSES 349

CHAPTER XIV

ETIQUETTE: THE LAWS OF POLITE BEHAVIOUR . . 361
1. SALUTATIONS 362
2. NAMES 365
3. OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON: (a) *BUDITAZHI* OFFENCES 370
4. OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON: (b) *MATUSHI* . 374
5. THE REGARD FOR TRUTH 378

CHAPTER XV

THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY 380
1. HOW PROPERTY IS ACQUIRED 380
2. INHERITANCE 390
3. OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY 392

CHAPTER XVI

SLAVERY 398
1. HOW PEOPLE BECOME SLAVES 398
2. CHARACTER OF THE SLAVERY 408

CHAPTER XVII

THE REGARD FOR LIFE 413
1. HOMICIDE 413
2. FETICIDE 418
3. INFANTICIDE 419
4. SUICIDE 421

000

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
The Superior Ila Type . . . . *Frontispiece*
On the Bwila Plain 4
The Kafue River at Mwengwa 5
The River Kafue, flowing through the Plain . . . 6
Bridge over the Kafue River 7
On the Kafue River 8
"Where Afric's Sunny Fountains" 10
On the Nansenga River 11
On the Kafue Plain 13
A Scene at Kasenga 15
Grooves in Rock in Batoka Hills, twenty miles south of Kaunga 19
Mukubu, Dr. Livingstone's servant 30
The Nambala Mountain 37
Leselo, one of our Informants. A Balumbu Type . . . 45
Facsimile of a Small Section of Livingstone's Original Map of the Zambesi River Territory made on his Great Journey across Africa, 1853–54 48
Mungaila II., Chief of the Bamala 56
The Inferior Ila Type 60
A Young Mwila wearing the Impumbe 62
An Old-Man-of-the-Woods from Mulendema's 64
Chikatakala, "The Polar Bear," a Chief at Kasenga . . . 65
A Dwarf 67
A Mixed Ila-Luba Type 68
Cast of Lower Teeth of a Native 69
Bambala Girls 70
Sewing the Isusu 72

PAGE
Sewing the Isusu 73
Some Ba-ila Youngsters 74
Some Ba-ila Youngsters 75
Repairing the Impumbe 76
After repairing the Impumbe: shaving the Head . . 77
The Chief Chibaluma. Mixed Ila and Luba Type . . 78
The Chief Chibaluma. Mixed Ila and Luba Type . . 79
Mulungushi 80
A Young Mwila 81
Ba-ila Women and Children 84
Two Ba-ila Girls 85
Namushia, Son of Mungaila, Chief at Kasenga . . . 88
Namushia, Son of Mungaila, Chief at Kasenga . . . 89
Young Ba-ila fresh from the Hairdresser . . . 90
The Chief Shimunungu and two of his Men . . . 91
A Baluba Type 93
A Mwila 95
A Nanzela Doctor 97
On the March 98
Swimming a River 99
A Mwila Woman 100
In Festive Attire 102
Ba-ila Warriors 103
A War Dance 104
Bambwela Type 105
A Village at Kasenga 110
The Chief Shaloba 111
Plan of Lubwe Village 112
A Batwa Village 115
Principal Hut of the Chief Sesongo at Nanzela . . . 117
In a Basodi Village 118
Plan of a House 119
Ornamentation 120
Plan of Fireplace 120
The Fireback 120
Mulendema and his Family at Home 122
The Chief Shaloba and his Band 125

PAGE
Cattle drinking in the Kafue River 128
The Ba-ila Churn 131
Cattle on the Kafue Plain 133
Filling the Grain Bin 136
Grain Bins (Matala) 138
Balumba Women stamping Corn 147
Bows and Arrows 154
Diagram of Game Trap 157
A Quick Catch 160
Fish-hook 161
The *Ivhumbo* Fish-trap 162
The *Mono* Fish-trap 163
Plan of the *Mielo* Weir 163
Preparing for the Fishing. Making the *Isasa* . . . 164
The *Mielo* in Position (General View) 165
The *Mielo* in Position (Nearer View) 166
Plan of the Weir: *Kukosola Chimpinda* . . . 167
Ba-ila Warriors 171
A Mimic Fight 172
A Mimic Fight: Hurling the Spears 173
A Mimic Fight: The Charge 174
A Mimic Fight: Spearing the Earth at the End of a Charge . 175
A Mimic Fight: A Group of admiring Female Spectators . 176
Returning from the Fight 177
The Ivory-turner 181
Knots used by the Ba-ila 184
Making a Net 185
Basketry: Base of the *Intumba* 186
Basket-making 187
Woman making an *Intundu* Basket: Laying out the Base . 188
Woman making an *Intundu* Basket 189
Making a *Chizongo* Basket (First Stage) . . . 190
Making a *Chizongo* Basket 191
Pot-making (First Stage) 192
Pot-making (Later Stage) 193
Preparing to bake the Pots 194
Ba-ila Pots 195

650

PAGE
Pipe-heads 196
Ba-ila Pipes and Pipe-heads 197
Wood-carver at Work: Making an *Indandala* Drum . . 198
Specimens of Woodwork from Nanzela . . . 199
Milk-pails and Bowls from Nanzela 199
Ba-ila Stools 200
Canoe-making: Shaping the Trunk 201
Canoe-making: the Job complete 202
Old *Inganzo* (Smelting-kilns) 204
Old *Inganzo* (Smelting-kilns) 206
The Smithy 211
The Blacksmith at Work 213
Some Ba-ila Spears 216
Ba-ila Axes 217
Battle-axe (*Bukana*) 218
Blacksmith's Work 220
Lukalo, a Leper Woman 233
Bracelets and Charms 251
A Bambala Doctor 273
A Doctor's Outfit 275
Part of Chibaluma's Family 285
A Group of Ba-Lenje from Shitanda 290
Father and Sons 306
Government Officials holding a Court at Itumbi . . 353
A Mwila Woman carrying a Water-pot . . . 383
An Old Slave Woman 409

Map of a Part of N. Rhodesia . . . . *To face p.* xxv

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WHO are the "Ila-speaking peoples"? 101

Generally speaking, they are the people usually known as the Mashukulumbwe, or, as Livingstone spelt it, Bashukulompo. This is not the name by which they call themselves, but was given them by their neighbours and conquerors, the Barotsi. It has not been easy to find the meaning of this word, but we are inclined to accept the derivation suggested to us by the Rev. A. Jalla of Lealui, viz. two Luyi (Rotsi) words: *kushukula*, "to brush the hair back from the forehead," and *lumpwili*, "a built-up mass of hair" (Ba-shukula-lumpwili = Ba-shuku-lumpwi). The reference is to the characteristic coiffure of the people. The Matabele call them Matjokotjoko, in allusion to their manner of speaking. Both these names were given in derision, and the people resent their use; we have, therefore, not used either of them.

The chief thing that unites them is the language they 101
speak, viz. Ila. We might, therefore, simply call them all 197
Ba-ila; and indeed we do often include all the sections under
this comprehensive title. But, according to native usage, 619
this is not strictly correct. Some of the people consider themselves exclusively entitled to the name; and in the following classification we are looking through their eyes. This in the interests of accuracy; for practical purposes they can all be regarded as one.

1. *The Ba-ila.*—According to themselves, the pucka 131
Ba-ila. Their country, called Bwila, as defined by themselves 619
and as delineated on the map, is a small one. Like most African tribal names, it is difficult to determine its meaning. The word Ila, standing alone, may mean several things: it is

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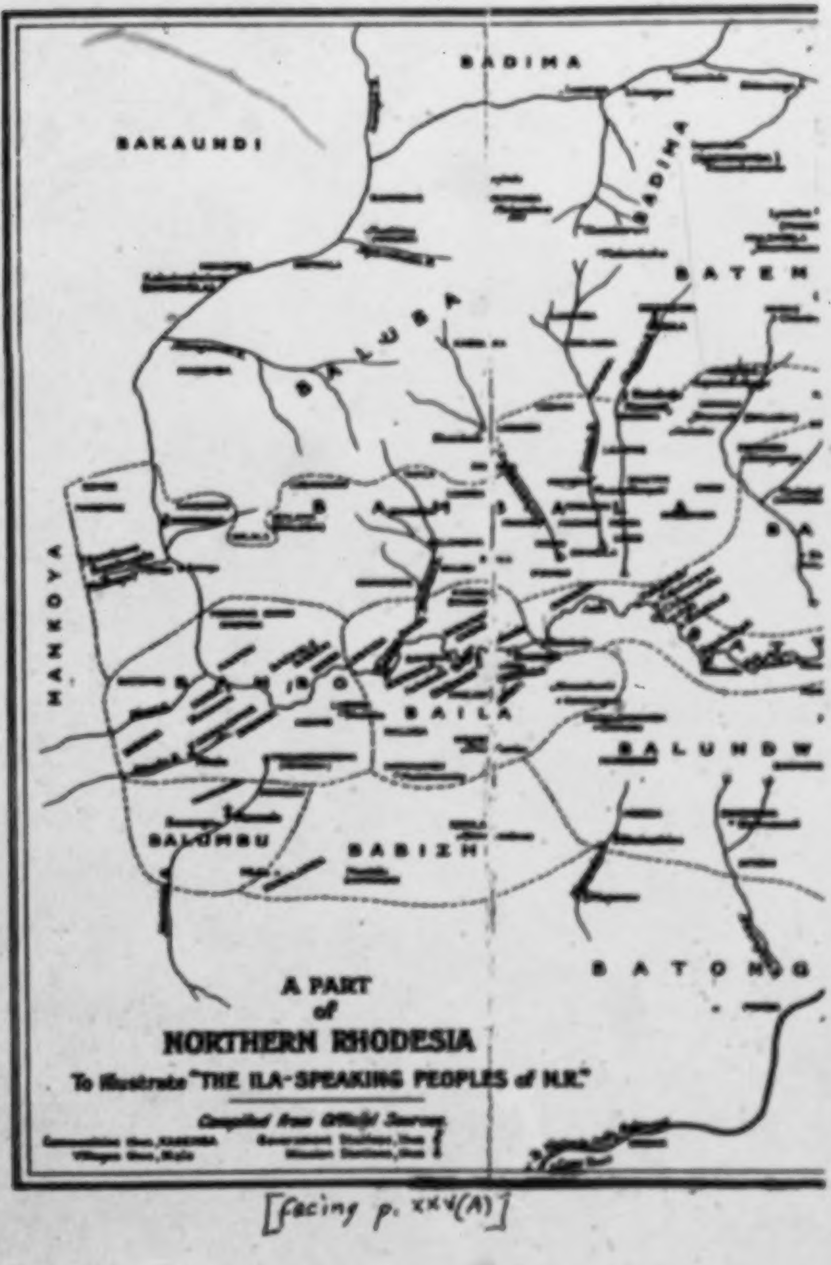
BADIMA
BAKAUNDI
BADIMA
BATEN
MANKOYA
BAILA
BALUNDW
BALUMBU
BASIZHI
BATONG

A PART
of
NORTHERN RHODESIA
To Illustrate "THE ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES of N.R."

Compiled from Official Sources

[facing p. xxv(A)]

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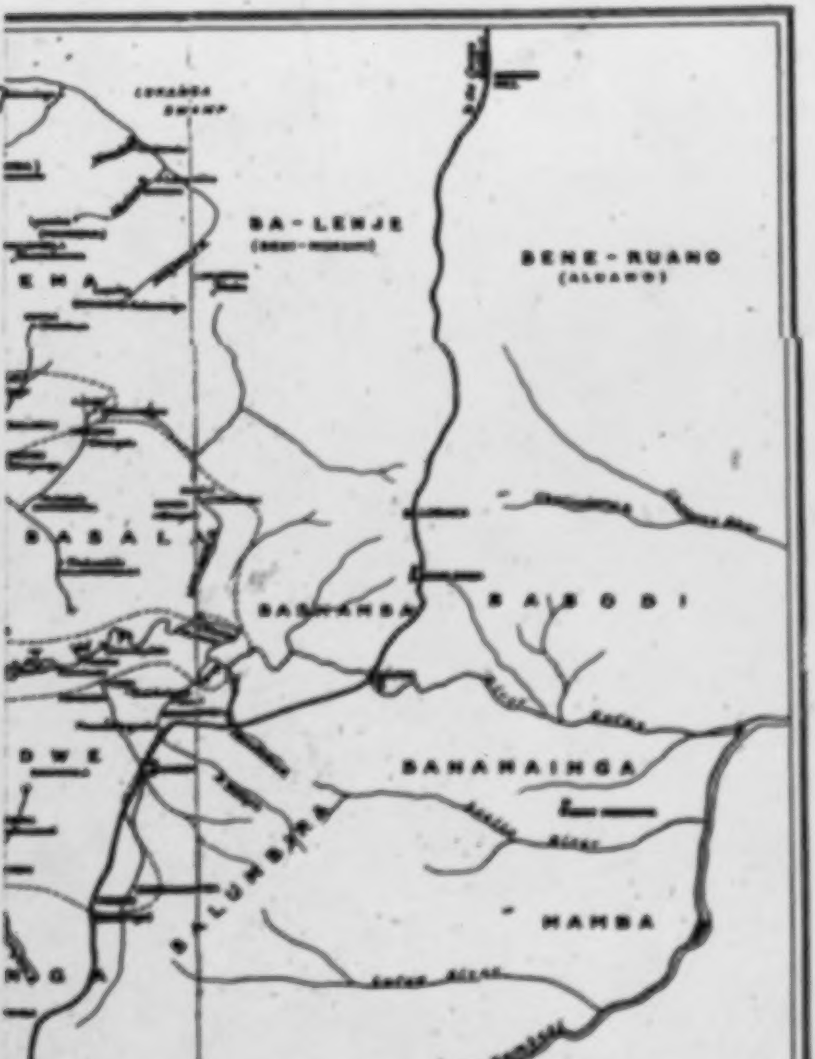
LUKANGA SWAMP
BA-LENJE
BENE-RUANO
(ALUANO)
BASALA
BABODI
MAMBA
BAWE

[facing p. xxv (b)]

131 a verb, "to go to" or "go for," and Ba-ila might mean "the people going off." Ila also means "a distended intestine," 619 also "a grain of corn." But none of these is satisfactory. Ila is also one form of the verb *zhila*, "be taboo, set apart," corresponding to *sacer*, *hagios*, *haram*. It is an old Bantu root: Suto, *ila*; Zulu, *zila*; Ronga, *yila*; Herero, *zera*; Nyanja, *yera*; Upper Congo, *kila*; cf. Ganda, *omuzira*, a totem. It occurs also in some tribal names, *e.g.* Bashilange, "they who taboo the leopard." This is, we think, the derivation of the name Ba-ila: "The people who are taboo, set 141 apart"; they are the Hagioi; in short, *the* people. This certainly answers very well to the arrogant spirit of the people.

When in the following pages we speak of "the Ba-ila proper," it is these people we mean.

2. While they themselves restrict the name to the inhabitants of the district defined, there are others outside its limits who also claim to be Ba-ila. Such are the people to the west whom the Ba-ila proper call Bambo, "the western folk," and the Babizhi in the south. They speak Ila and have the tribal marks.

3. The same may be said of the Balundwe, to the south-east. Their dialect is rather different, and they are to some extent intermixed with the Batonga, but they are near enough to have the right to the sacred name.

4. On the north are the Bambala, *i.e.* "the northern people." Except near the Bwila border, they are somewhat intermixed with their neighbours, Baluba, Batema, and Basala, and their appearance, customs, and language vary accordingly; but they speak Ila, and so come within the scope of this book.

5. The Basala are somewhat different from the Ba-ila, and probably are later immigrants into this district. There is a Sala language, but it is now largely displaced by Ila.

6. Along the Kafue are the river people, the Batwa. Their name is widely found in Africa: the Bushmen in the south are called Abatwa by the Zulus and Baroa by the Basuto; there are Batwa on the lower Zambesi, others in the Lukanga swamps of the Kafue, and others farther north on the Congo. The name may mean "aborigines" and

have been applied by the Bantu invaders to the peoples 131
they found in possession. There are many differences 619
between Ba-ila and Batwa. They seem to have a language [197]
of their own, but those living near the Bwila speak Ila.

7. There are people in the west on the Nanzela River who call themselves Balumbu, a name which the Ba-ila apply indiscriminately to all foreigners. They are very mixed, but now the language of them all is Ila.

These, then, comprise the Ila-speaking peoples. Beside 171
them, both on the north and the south, the Ba-ila are con- 197
tiguous with tribes with whom, linguistically at least, they are very closely related, and whose history and customs we would gladly have included in our book had we had opportunity of studying them. On the north are the Batema and Walenje (or Beni Mukuni), closely allied peoples, though separated by many small differences, *e.g.* the Walenje knock out three front teeth, while the Batema file the two front incisors into an inverted V. On the south are the Batonga, or Batoka, a name which covers remnants of many tribes. If we may judge by language, they are nearly akin with the Ba-ila, as also are the Basubia on the Zambesi around Sesheke, though different in physical features and customs. On the contrary, the other neighbours of the Ba-ila—Mankoya on the west, Baluba on the north-west, and Basodi and Bashamba on the north-east—are, as well in language as in other things, very distinct people.

Our readers will kindly bear in mind that Ila is a root- 101
word, and is not, from the native point of view, complete
without a prefix. Mwila (= mu-ila) means a single person 193
of the tribe; Ba-ila, more than one person; Bwila (= bu-ila) is the name of the country. The same three prefixes occur with the same meaning in other tribal names, *e.g.* mu-lumbu, ba-lumbu, bu-lumbu.

Ba-ila corresponds, then, in form to English*men*. One does not say "the Englishmen country," and on that analogy it is incorrect, when writing English, to use Ba-ila as an adjective: we should say "the Ila country," "the Ila language," etc. But it is not easy to be always consistent in this.

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PART I

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CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT

THE Ila-speaking people of Northern Rhodesia inhabit the 131
country lying to the north of the Batoka plateau, above
the middle Zambesi, the limits being roughly, both on the 133
north and south, conterminous with the watershed of the river with which the lives of the majority are bound up. Some two hundred miles due north of the Victoria Falls, this river—the Kafue, called by the natives Kavuvu ("Hippopotamus River")—leaves the hill country and flows through wide and fertile plains, and these have been the home of the Ba-ila for as long a period as our information extends. On the north the blue hills of Mbala, as seen from Bwila, afford a refreshing change to the eye wearied by the flatness of the plains. These well-wooded hills and valleys are inhabited by the Bambala and Basala, who have the advantage of diversified and picturesque scenery, but, on the other hand, as these same hills and valleys are infested by the tsetse fly, have not the wealth in cattle that the plain-loving Ba-ila enjoy. To the south the sandhills and forests of the Bwila border rise gradually, to merge into the Batoka plateau.

Altogether dissimilar from the country surrounding it, as 133
its inhabitants differ from the tribes surrounding them, the Bwila possesses many features peculiarly its own. As the traveller from either the north or the south emerges from the mountainous country which fringes the Kafue plain, he views, stretching far on all sides until lost in the mirage of Africa, a wide expanse of level country, seemingly as flat as a billiard table, and varying in appearance with the

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[illegible]

ON THE BWILA PLAIN.

[136-137]

season: in spring, green and smooth as the sward of an English lawn, russet brown in early winter, but black, bare and forbidding a few weeks later when the grass fires, with an impetuosity derived from miles of uninterrupted devastation and fanned by the strong easterly wind which blows during the dry season, have swept over it. At this time, described by a pessimistic traveller as "Nature in her most repulsive mood," the sportsman and the naturalist reap rich repayment for their toil in the flats. The game, large and small, no longer concealed by grass eight and ten feet high, frequents the plain in great numbers, while the welcome shade on the river-bank enables the lover of nature to gaze in amazement and delight upon a profusion and variety of waterfowl and other birds such as can be seen in few other parts of the world.

Keen as is the enjoyment derived from a view

1:Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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of the plains glowing under the noonday sun, for dreamy beauty and romantic charm it is necessary to leave the evening camp-fires and study them when bathed by the rays of the full moon. The eye, aided by the imagination, travels away into the dim distance, while only some stately Borassus palm standing sentinel-like in the night, or the huge limbs of some gnarled and ancient fig tree, interrupt the sight. Towards the latter end of the rainy season the whole aspect is changed. The river is full, the wide plains are one sheet of water, the baked paths with their gaping sun-cracks are submerged ten feet deep, and only a solitary dug-out canoe occasionally breaks the silence and the view.

Photo E. W. Smith.

THE KAFUE RIVER AT MWENGWA.

Rising with little promise of its future power close to the sources of the Zambesi and the Congo, the Kafue, first flowing past the infant Hippo Mine, then taking the comprehensive bend south known as the Hook of the Kafue, and dashing for a time through small hills and thickly wooded banks over a sequence of rapids and cascades, turns at last at its junction with the Musa River near the Whetezhiteshi Hill eastwards towards its ultimate union with the

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Photo G. F. B. Handley.

THE RIVER KAFUE, FLOWING THROUGH THE PLAIN.

[131]

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Zambesi, leaving hills and trees behind for a long three hundred miles, and passing numerous native villages, until at last the sight of the handsome Kafue railway bridge, set amidst trees with a background of hills, gladdens the eyes of the expectant traveller. Below the bridge it still has eighty miles to go, and its course now passes between precipitous and uninhabited banks and over a series of waterfalls and rapids. The course of the river through the plain is tortuous in the extreme, indeed one finds one's canoe facing at times every point of the compass. By water the distance is three hundred miles, but a straight line of one hundred and fifty miles covers the country actually occupied by the Ba-ila, their villages and lands extending back some twenty or thirty miles to the south and north of the river.

On the river-bank, as stated, are numerous native villages built of the rudest materials, viz. mealie stalks, reeds, and

grass. These are occupied by the Batwa, who may be 361
termed the Ishmaelites of the Ba-ila, the last and most 621
reluctant to accept European administration in this part 563
of the world. As absolutely at home among their native
swamps as the Bushmen are in the desert, they excite [648]
reluctant admiration by their prowess as watermen and
fishermen, but repulsion by their uncouth and uncleanly
methods of life.

The largest Ba-ila villages, commanding readiest access 361
to the richest grazing that springs up after the waters recede, 621

[491]

Photo E. W. Smith.

BRIDGE OVER THE KAFUE RIVER.

are situated along the edge of the sand forests and jungle
bush which border and jut out into the plains on either bank.
In these forests, which comprise a large number of useful [241]
trees and many varieties of indigenous fruit and berries,
the Ba-ila make their lands after their usual improvident
fashion, destroying and burning, in making their clearings,
much timber for the sake of the potash fertiliser it contains,
and after two years moving on to repeat the process elsewhere. The sandy soil, poor-looking to the eye, yields for 241
a year or two fair crops of maize, millet, and various vege- 134

241 134 tables as beans, ground-nuts, and pumpkins, and is especially adapted for cotton, while the gardens cultivated in the rich black alluvial loam of the river-bank repay their fortunate possessors with enormous harvests—always provided they have been sufficiently industrious to plant with the early rains, otherwise the flooded river sweeps everything before it. The Bambala have at their disposal a deep red soil which, with proper cultivation, produces fine crops.

Amongst the endless swamps and morasses of the flats, 133 the home of numerous sitatunga antelope, one in particular

[501]

Photo Rev. W. Chapman.

On the Kafue River.

is worthy of notice, forming as it does a perfect counterpart to that Isle of Ely so famous in our own history. Close to the large influential district of Mala, the headquarters of the Ba-ila (if such a term may be used of a people who acknowledge no head), is the island named Makobo. In the form of a rough circle five miles in diameter, full of swamps, lagoons, and reed-beds, and surrounded completely by a river, except in the driest season, it forms a haven of refuge [361] within which the Mala people have often fled from their Matabele and Barotsi foes, taking with them their household goods and swimming their valued cattle across.

At the foot of the ridge of western hills already mentioned are some boiling mineral springs, named Ndongola, well worth a visit from the traveller. Sulphur being a principal constituent, their efficacy in rheumatic complaints is highly esteemed by those acquainted with them. 133 [135]

One other landmark of interest may be mentioned, the Balumbwa Mountain, used on numberless occasions, like the Nambala mountains, as a place of refuge. [36]

The above form almost the only spots of interest in the district, whose charms centre more in the wild life, both human and animal, contained within it. Almost every spot has its tradition of fray and foray, known often only to a few, and the majority of the more isolated trees mark places of burial or sacrifice.

Some three thousand feet above sea-level the climate for the greater part of the year is equable and mild. Frosts are rarely experienced even on the river-bank, and never exceed two degrees. During the whole of the dry season, from April to September, strong easterly winds blow incessantly, and though unpleasant to a degree from the ash and dust they carry, they nevertheless make the season very invigorating. Actual climatic inconvenience is felt only during the months of September and October immediately before the rains, when the heavens, heavy with masses of lowering clouds betokening the coming rain, are indeed as brass and the nights close and sultry. Even this period has its compensations, for during Rhodesia's "wonder month," as it is beautifully called, the singular sight is witnessed of trees loaded with sweet-smelling blossoms which have not yet put forth their leaves, while the veld shoots out a wealth of gaily coloured and richly scented flowers, making the air heavy with their perfume. 132

The rains fall first in October and set in earnestly in December, ending usually in March. The rainfall for the year, from imperfect statistics, is on the average thirty inches. A feature of the rains is the cold which so frequently accompanies them.

The flats flood as a rule in late February or early March, 132
the cause being not the local rains, as might be supposed, 133
but the heavy rains higher up the Kafue; at the time the

132 river fills, the water draining down from the highlands north
133 and south along numerous watercourses, which lose their depth of bank when they reach the plain, flows out over the flats because the already swollen river cannot carry it away quickly enough. The flats dry during June, after

Photo E. W. Smith.

"WHERE AFRIC'S SUNNY FOUNTAINS."

which month, as already told, the grass fires sweep over 132
the country, doing annually untold damage to the virgin 133
forests, but clearing it of the grass and undergrowth which have hitherto afforded secure retreats to the numerous members of the African felidae which prey upon domestic stock. Every year lives are lost in these fires, which travel with incredible rapidity.

The vast swamps are the breeding-places of millions 136
upon millions of mosquitoes, among which abounds the 164
ever-to-be-dreaded Anopheles, and malarial fever, as is to be expected in the circumstances, is inseparable from the low-lying Kafue valley.

Photo E. W. Smith.

On the Nansenga River.

In seeking in this chapter to give our readers a com- 136
prehensive view of the country it is impossible to pass without mention the wealth of animal life. At certain seasons the earth, the heavens, the waters all teem with life. The largest animals, it is true, are but seldom seen: two herds of elephant on their migrations visit the district annually, following a route centuries old; and the rhinoceros is found in small numbers both on the north and south

136 bank. Hippopotami, which are unusually pugnacious in the Kafue, are still numerous, but have decreased much in late years owing to the campaign waged against them. The smaller fauna are still found in numbers and varieties which rival the famous Athi plains. In the forests bordering the flats, sable, waterbuck, and kudu, the stateliest and handsomest of antelope, are frequently found in company with the graceful rooibok, bushbuck, and steinbok, while the largest of the antelope family, the royal eland, is the most plentiful of all, some herds being of so considerable a size that two or three score little calves are sometimes seen cantering by their mothers' sides at once. On the flats, the wildebeeste, with its grotesque antics, the ungainly hartebeeste, the roan antelope, called by the Dutch the bastard eland, and the zebra are constantly seen grazing to all appearance in one herd, until, on the alarm signal being given, they quickly disentangle themselves and each leader rapidly scours off, taking his herd to safety.

Other "flat" animals are the reedbuck, puku, and lechwe. The latter congregate in vast herds after the fires, and may be seen daily, literally not in hundreds but in thousands. The morasses and papyrus swamps are the home of the sitatunga. From his nocturnal habits—necessitated by the abnormal length of his hoof, which, though wonderfully adapted, like the water-fowl's web-feet, to a swampy existence, incapacitates him from running with any speed—and his general wiliness, his handsome spiral horns form a trophy often sought but seldom obtained by the hunter.

With such an abundant food-supply, it will readily be supposed the carnivora are not absent. Lion, leopard, serval, cheetah, wild dog, hyaena, and jackal are constantly hunting their prey. Lions hunt singly or in troops, sometimes numbering as many as a dozen. As a general rule, those met unaccompanied are fiercer and more savage than the members of a group. It may be well to add, however, that there is no animal so uncertain as a lion. Where one might be expected to charge he will frequently slink away, and *vice versa*. Arrange to wait for him at moonset, and he will make his rounds before you have finished supper. The

[p.13]

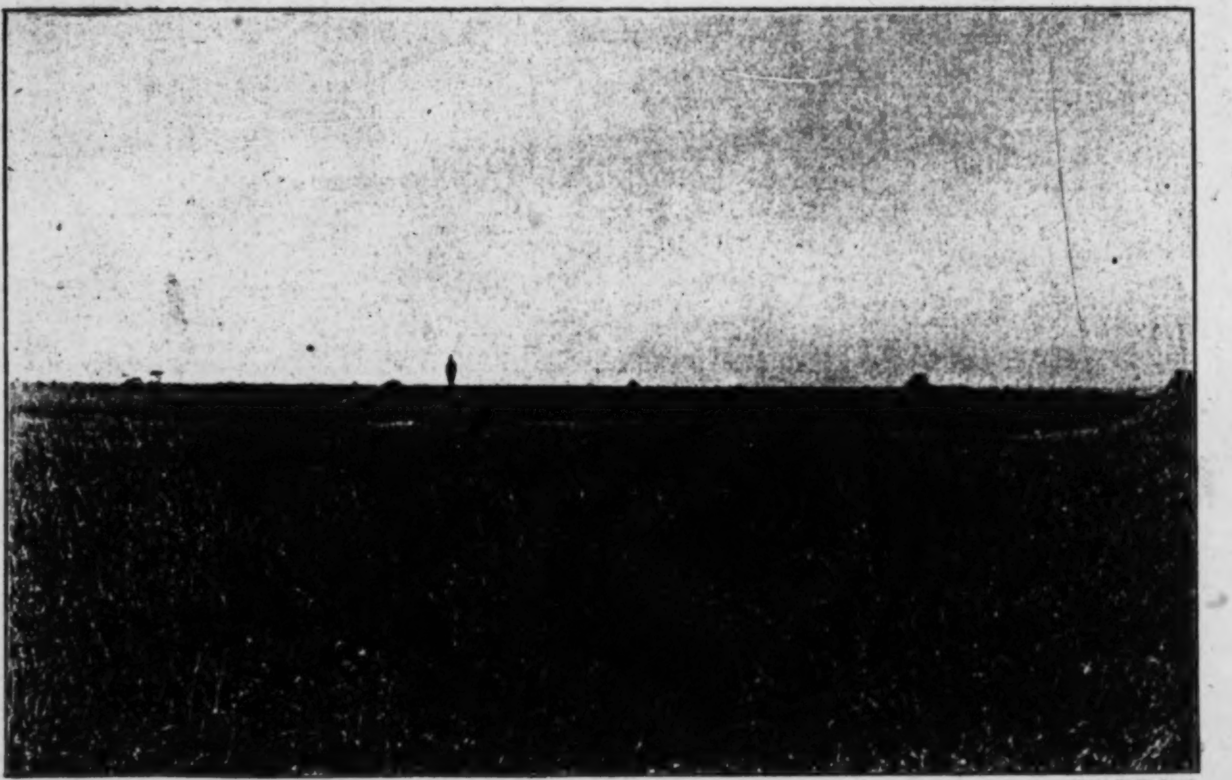

Photo E. W. Smith.

On the Kafue Plain.

136 dogmatic sportsman who assures you a lion always does such and such a thing as a rule generalises from one or two experiences. In the Bwila several score of native cattle
224 are annually killed by lions, some of whom pay the penalty
136 of their depredations when the aggrieved owners turn out in force. In one year six lions were speared in fair hunting on the open flat, with two, fortunately not fatal, casualties among the hunters. These lions sometimes make a regular round of fifty miles or more, and the remark is often heard, "To-night they will kill at so-and-so's kraal." After a repetition of such occurrences for centuries the natives have not yet learnt the wisdom of building lion-proof kraals.

136 The animals mentioned comprise the more important denizens of the forests and plains. Bush-pig and warthog are common, although the former are not often seen. All members of the cat tribe are numerous. Snakes abound in great variety but fortunately cause few casualties; the mamba, the puff-adder, the African cobra, and a small silver snake named chisambwe are the most deadly, though nearly all are dangerous. Ant-bears, porcupine, ratel, spring-hares all thrive in the sandy bush, which also contains big iguanas or land lizards, and land tortoises.

To deal adequately with the bird life of the district would require a large volume. The writers have good authority for stating that many varieties are still unnamed. Of game birds the largest is the greater bustard, closely followed in point of size by the spurwing goose. Both the greater and lesser bustard are common at certain seasons. The dikkop is always to be found in the forests, with the common guinea-fowl and five kinds of francolin and partridge; quail and button quail arrive in fair numbers, and snipe of two varieties (painted and Jack snipe) are plentiful. Storks of several varieties, cranes, hornbills, and flamingoes are regular frequenters of the flats and ponds, and are daily seen picking up small fish and snails. The beautiful crested crane, after the breeding season, is seen in flocks of forty and fifty. While land birds are plentiful, it is difficult to describe the numbers in which the water-fowl exist. The writers have more than once bagged three couple of duck with a rifle bullet, so dense was the flock. Spurwing geese, "the

136 wood goose," as an early writer described it, from its habit of roosting in trees, Egyptian geese, knob-nosed duck, whistling duck, white-marked duck, and a number of other kinds of duck, widgeon, and teal often hide the sandbanks they frequent. All along the reed-beds fringing the river the attention is arrested by a succession of water-birds—egrets with their handsome plumes, herons blue and white, pelicans, clatterbills, hammerwings, darters, kingfishers of wonderful plumage, ibises, plovers, sea-swallows, gulls—all are seen in succession preying on the marvellous food-supply the river holds for them; while high over all the handsome fish-eagle with its harsh scream sails around.

[137]

Photo E. W. Smith.

A SCENE AT KASENGA.

The natives who inhabit the country the main features
161 of which have been thus cursorily described, number some
sixty thousand, the female sex predominating in the pro-
[162] portion of three to two. When the advantages under which
the Ba-ila live—their numerous herds, the abundance of
161 fish, the frequent windfalls of meat, and their productive
163 soil—when these advantages, comprising all an African
desires, are remembered, it will be a matter for surprise that
their numbers are so small. The reader's surprise will be

161 less by the time he has read this book: he may then wonder
163 that there are any people left. One reason, perhaps the
chief, is the unproductiveness caused by the astonishing
promiscuity of their sexual relations and the extreme earliness
of age at which these relations commence. It is no
161 exaggeration to state that from the age of seven or eight
163 a girl, married or otherwise, counts her lovers, who are
833 constantly changing, not singly but by the score. The
836 writers at the time of the first census of the people were
amazed to find kraal after kraal inhabited solely by adults,
and to receive time and again the same reply, that there
were no children, that, much as they wished for them,
conception was a very difficult matter.

In this as in many other directions the Ba-ila show themselves
171 distinct and apart from their neighbours. Certain
of their characteristics are directly traceable to the land
and the circumstances under which they live. Accustomed
to good food and to constant exercise in the swampy flats,
they possess fine physique and height, with an undue development
of the lower limbs, showing in this respect an interesting
resemblance to the Dinkas of the Nile, who live under
closely similar conditions. The most feasible explanation
of the long cone coiffure is undoubtedly that which attributes
its origin to the necessity of keeping each other in sight
when hunting or fighting in the thick cane brakes and reeds.
To their constant isolation—little travelling is possible
181 while the plains are flooded—may be traced the bluff independence
186 and the self-satisfaction which are so marked
in their demeanour. *Ndi Mwila* ("I am a Mwila") a youngster
may be heard to exclaim, with as complete self-complacency
as could distinguish any ancient Roman. And
they can infuse a tremendous amount of scorn into the
word *Balumbu*, which they employ to describe all outside
the pale—European or native, freeman or serf, all are
Balumbu, as the ancient Greeks contemptuously classed all
Gentiles as *βάρβαροι* ("barbarians").

1:Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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CHAPTER II

HISTORY

1. Prehistoric

No traces have yet been found in this district of any ancient inhabitants. The nature of the low country does not lend itself to the preservation of such remains, and the hills, where, if anywhere, they might be found, have not yet been fully explored. Just beyond the confines of the district, however, there are some indications of a prehistoric occupation. There is a remarkable cave at Broken Hill in which have been found stone implements, chiefly flakes of white opaque quartz, some showing distinctly chipping, cutting, or scraping edges and notches; also bones showing cuts or notches, one being chipped into a rough hexagonal form; pieces of bone, ivory, or horn shaped as if used for digging roots; and large rounded pebbles of quartzite which must have been brought from a distance and were probably used for breaking up marrow-bones. These were found in connection with numerous animal remains, some of them apparently of extinct varieties.[1] Flint implements have also been discovered in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls.

Ancient workings, evidently for copper, have been found in the vicinity of the King Edward Mine, south-west of Lusaka. From the traces left one gathers that these ancient miners were there in great numbers, but there is nothing to indicate their nationality.

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[1] Franklin White, *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association*, Sept. 1908.

172 In the Batoka hills, twenty miles south of Kaunga and three miles east of Shamabuyu, Mr. G. F. B. Handley found and photographed a series of grooves in the solid granite rock; but there is no indication of what people worked them, nor of their purpose, whether for grinding neoliths or for pulverising gold-bearing quartz.

174
197 The Ila-speaking peoples and their neighbours on all sides belong to the Bantu subdivision of the African negroes, and their ancestors in remote times must have come down from the southern Soudan. We are here almost on the median line of the continent and at the junction of tribes seemingly belonging, if we may judge from linguistic evidence, to separate lines of immigration. The Ba-ila in the main belong, we think, to the Eastern Bantu, and came into their present domain on the crest of a wave of emigration from the north-east, from the country around the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, where, as we are told, the Bantu found a new motherland, a second focus and radius of development.[1] But they have evidently been influenced by, and to some extent intermixed with, peoples of another section, which, after passing from the north-east through the Congo territory towards the west coast, curled back again towards the centre of the continent in a south-easterly direction. These statements are made on linguistic grounds. The closest affinities to Ila are found in a line of dialects stretching from the Subia on the Zambesi to the Bemba on Lake Tanganyika, and including midway the Tonga, Lenje, Bisa, and others. Many cult words, such as *Lesa* ("the Supreme Being"), *chisungu* ("the puberty rites"), are common to these dialects and are not known in the west; while in Ila we have such words as *tonda* ("taboo"), evidently brought from the west (cf. the Kele word *orunda*), and *ifuka* ("nine"), the root of which (*buka*) is found only among the West African Bantu.

173 When and under what conditions these people reached their present home, and what tribes, if any, they dispossessed, are questions to which their traditions afford no answer. If we had a complete list of all the clans of the

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[1] Sir H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (London, 1908), vol. ii. p. 830.

[text continues on p. 20]

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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172

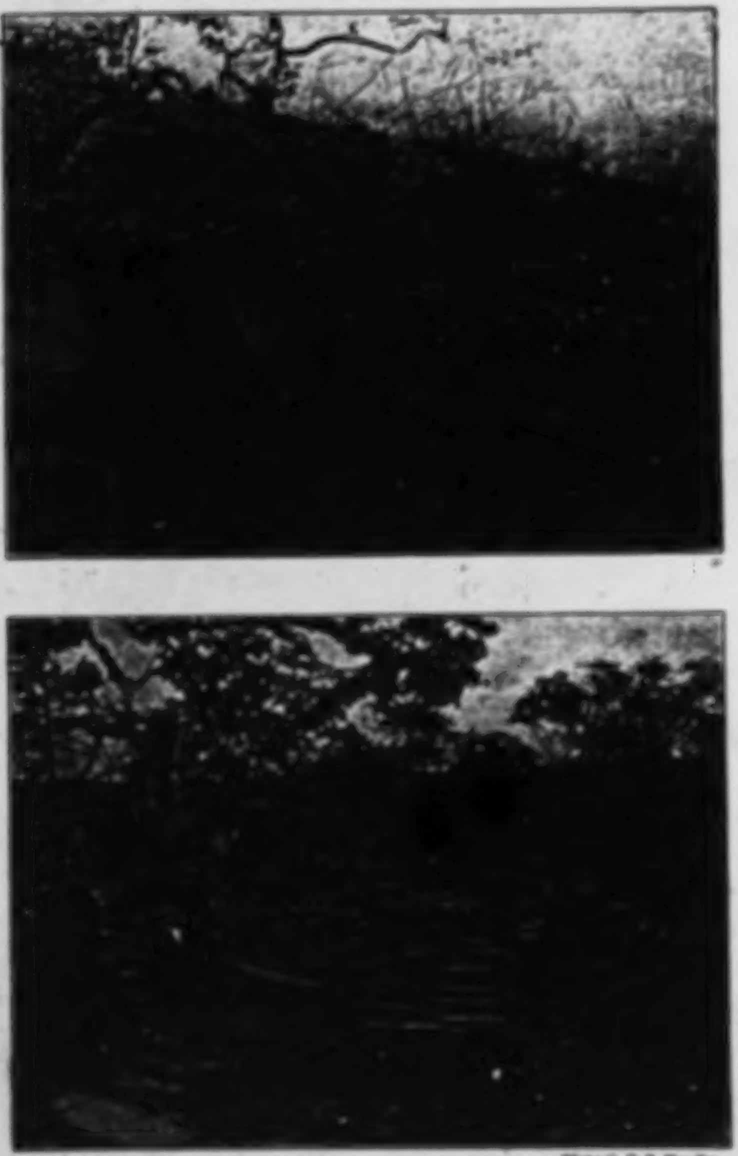

Photo [illegible]

GROOVES IN ROCK IN BATOKA HILLS, [illegible] MILES SOUTH OF KASENGA.

173 Rhodesian tribes (especially if we had also the traditions associated with the clan names), we should probably be in a better position than we are to trace the tribal movements. For example, this tradition of the Banampongo, unfortunately the only one of its kind we have heard, is told by the Banampongo among the Ba-ila and also by a clan of the same name among the Balamba in the Ndola district, which shows that one section of the Banampongo has at no distant date moved south. The lake mentioned is the Mwine-mbushi, near Kapopo, evidently an old crater, four hundred yards in diameter. This is the legend: Once upon a time the Banampongo (the Goats) had a dispute with another clan, the Batembozhi (the Hornets), over a question of chieftainship; the Banampongo, having got the worst of it and being ousted from their premier position, planned to destroy themselves in the lake. They set to work to twist a very long rope—men, women, and children. Then they gathered on the lakeside and tied the rope in turn around their necks, and all plunged into the unfathomable depths. A man of another clan, the Banankalamo (the Lions), had married a woman of the Banampongo, and after failing to induce her to refrain from suicide, determined to die with her. They happened to be the last to be tied to the rope; they were pulled in and on the point of drowning when the man, repenting, cut the rope, and so freed himself and his wife. She struggled to escape from him, screaming, "Let me go! let me go!" but he persevered and brought her to land. This is why to this day the Banankalamo say to the Banampongo, "It is we who saved you from extinction."

When the Ba-ila are pressed to say where their ancestors came from they can only reply *bakaseluka* ("they descended"). Some of them interpret the word in a crudely literal sense, and would have us understand that their forefathers came down out of the sky, accompanied by animals, buffaloes in particular, which through training became cattle, and also by elephants and birds. On the shore of a lagoon of the Kafue River, at the Government station of Namwala, there is a bank of rock upon which these literalists say the ancients descended, and, in proof, they point to the innumerable

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pits in the weather-worn sandstone. What are these but the footprints of the ancestors, impressed on the rock at the moment of their first contact with earth? The rock is named Bwengwa-Leza. Others use the word *seluka* in a more mystical sense as meaning the entry of a spirit into the woman through whom it is to be reincarnate, and in their mouths it means no more than to appear on earth, to be reborn. Ancient chiefs are named as having "descended" into certain districts; by this the literalists mean that after touching earth at Bwengwa-Leza they separated and settled at those places; the others mean simply that they were born in those districts. In either case these ancestors are regarded with great reverence; they are the *beni-mashi* ("founders of the communities"), *mizhimo* ("demi-gods"),[1] to whom worship is principally rendered.

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It might be conjectured that the literalist tradition just mentioned preserves a reminiscence of the first arrival of the Ba-ila from some quarter now forgotten. The *beni-mashi* in that case would be the leaders of the original immigrants, and if we could trace back to them the line of chiefs from the present day we might be able to estimate approximately the date of the first arrival. We have elicited many of these lists, but cannot vouch for their accuracy. The people's memory is fallible and the lists may be incorrect in several directions: too short, owing to some chiefs having been forgotten as of no account; or too long, because some are inserted without right; one name may indicate several men, or, on the other hand, one individual may be named by several names. For what they are worth we give the names at the end of this chapter. In only two of the districts, it will be seen, have we been able to get more than six consecutive names; in each case, like the eponymous heroes of the Greek clans, the first named is a demi-god, and if these were the first arrivals it would be impossible to assign the Ba-ila a period exceeding two hundred years. The other type of tradition to which we have referred,

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[1] These demi-gods do not correspond to Hesiod's fourth generation of created men, ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος; nor are they the offspring of mixed human and divine parentage; the sense in which we use the term will be made clear in a later chapter.

173 however, tends to push the matter further back by declaring that before the demi-gods appeared other spirits had descended for reincarnation. Shimunenga, *e.g.*, of Mala, is said to have had a father, named Munambala, and a mother, Nachilomwe, who came from Kaundu. Of those preceding generations no memory survives, and instead of futilely guessing, it is best to say that we have no idea when the Ba-ila came into the country

2. The Internal History of the Ba-ila

173 721 What has been the history of these people since they first came? The conclusion we arrive at, after protracted inquiries, is that it has been mostly a ghastly story of war and rapine. As far back as we can trace they have been torn with intestine strife, and, in addition, have been swept and scoured and harried almost to death by incessant raids from abroad. The numbers slain at any time in a single fight may not have been great, but the aggregate during a century or two must have been considerable, while the numbers carried into captivity and the deaths from starvation owing to the destruction of the crops must have immensely swelled the total loss. Add to this such devastations as that caused by smallpox and the perpetual sacrifice of life on suspicion of witchcraft, and the wonder is that the people have not been exterminated.

The Ba-ila have never been a united people, and consequently their story may be summed up in the words used by Gibbon of the ancient Britons: they possessed "valour without conduct and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with sudden fierceness, they laid them down or turned them against each other with wild inconstancy, and while they fought singly they were successively subdued." The examples we give below illustrate the petty origin of these civil conflicts, their long duration, and the light-hearted way in which one section would call in the aid of a foreign foe against its rival. The raider always found it easy to obtain, by promising a share of the booty, the assistance of one community against another. War has not been here, as in other parts of the world, a

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unifying force, banding all tribes under one head against a common foe; on the contrary, it has perpetuated the divisions by increasing the enmity between communities. All the wars, therefore, have had apparently no effect in raising the people above their former level.

The way in which many of these civil conflicts arose is well shown in the following story from Lubanda. Two men, named Shitukula and Mope, had a dispute as to who could run the faster, and to decide the question the elders despatched the one to Bunga and the other to Mafwefwe to fetch certain hoes and spears. Shitukula accomplished his errand; they expected Mope's return, but he came not. On his arrival at Bunga that young blood had spanked into the village at top-speed. The people, incensed by this breach of good manners, set to beating him and burning him alive. The news reached Lubanda, and in great wrath the elders sent off an imprecatory message and followed it up by marching with all their men with the idea of falling upon the Bunga folk at dawn. But the wife of a Lubanda man stole off in the night and warned her friends at Bunga and all left the village. Finding it deserted, the Lubanda people burnt it to the ground. Rallying their forces, the Bungaites met and slew many of the enemy, whereupon the Lubandaites retreated and called upon their allies for help. In the end the Bunga people were victorious, but could not return to their ruined homes until they had paid over sufficient cattle to appease the spirits of the warriors slain there. To this day the feud has not been completely healed.

At Ngabo there was a famous "war" which arose out of a dispute concerning fishing rights. Shankalu's people began to fish in the Inyonzi pool, and the people of Musanana of Namaumbwe, who claimed the pool, objected. Shankalu, determined to press his claim by force, sought aid from Namakubi and Bambwe, while the Lubwe people supported Musanana. A battle was fought at Namaumbwe, and three of Musanana's and two of Shankalu's men were killed. The natives say that although only five were killed it was a big fight. Musanana was driven from the district and lived elsewhere until Lewanika sent one of his indunas

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to take him back to Ngabo, and later he succeeded Kachinka as chief at Ianda.

Another feud of long duration was that between the people of Chiyadila and Nyambo, and as usual the neighbours became involved on either side. It arose out of a dispute as to the possession of some land. A man named Siatembo had found, while hunting lechwe, what he thought would be a fine site to occupy, so he and his people moved on to it and built the Nyambo villages. The Chiyadila people, living a few miles away, claimed this land, but Siatembo refused either to move or to pay; consequently there was a quarrel, and whenever the rival villagers met they fought. Siatembo was succeeded by Mwanamonga, he by Mauzwe, and he by Mwezwa, and all the time the fighting went on. Mwezwa called the Byangwe people to aid him and the other party those of Nalubanda. A battle was fought at Nyambo; the village was burnt, but Mwezwa gained the day and caused the heads of his slain enemies to be cut off and stuck upon poles. Then Mwezwa died, and the present chief took his place and name. He had a rival in Shibulo, who, refusing to acknowledge his authority, was driven out and went to Chiyadila. This added further fuel to the fire and fights continually took place, one side and the other being victorious in turn. Then Mwezwa went to beg the aid of the Barotsi, and Lewanika gave him some of his warriors, by whose assistance the Chiyadila people were driven away. They remained dispersed among the neighbouring communities, until ultimately Mwezwa agreed to accept the indemnity they offered and allowed them to return home. Shibulo, however, refused to pay, and was driven out by Mwezwa; he lived at Mala until the establishment of English rule put a stop to these conflicts.

These are but illustrations of the unsettled state of the country, which prevailed from ancient times until the last few years. Old men tell us that war was the normal thing and peace unknown. Places are pointed out that in other days were occupied by large communities which have been either exterminated or dispersed. One of these places is some ten miles from Mala, formerly inhabited by the

Bantuba. They are now extinct. It is no wonder that the raiders when they came had no difficulty in carrying off the cattle and enslaving multitudes, or that at last the Ba-ila should have been compelled to acknowledge a foreign sovereign. 173 721

3. Conflicts with Foreign Foes

It is impossible to write a sketch of Ba-ila history without reference to the affairs of their neighbours. And indeed we have to go much farther afield—so far as the Congo territory and even Unyamwezi in the north and Zululand in the distant south. Just as a stone dropped into a pond sets up ripples which radiate in ever-widening circles until they beat upon the encircling banks, so here the emergence of great personalities such as Mushidi in the north and Chaka in the south set forces in motion whose impact upon the Ba-ila has been very disturbing. The following paragraphs, if at times they seem to wander somewhat from the Ba-ila, will illustrate the incessant violent jostling together of tribes which has been going on in Africa from remote times. Probably it is in this way, and not as a peaceful immigration, we are to conceive the gradual spread of the Bantu from their home in the far north.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Upper Zambesi valley was inhabited by various clans who bore the name collectively of Balui. Some of the chiefs were of an adventurous spirit, and two of them, with their people called Bambwela, migrated to the north-east seeking fresh hunting-grounds. One of them was Kabulwebulwe, who settled near the Upper Kafue, in the region where his descendants still live. The other was named Kale (Kahadi), and he settled farther north on the Lunga, a tributary of the Kafue. He had not been there long before the country was invaded by a strong party of Baluba, from the Lunda country across the Kabompo River, under their six chiefs Kamimbe, Kapidi, Mponda, Nyoka, Kaindu, and Mushima. These had left their homes on account of disturbances made by a Lunda chief named Mukumbi. Kale received the visitors amicably and gave Kapidi his daughter to wife. After a time the friendly relations between the Bambwela and Baluba were broken by a quarrel between the two chiefs over a question of wearing the *impande* shell, an emblem of chiefship introduced by the Baluba. The two men came to blows, and war followed. Kapidi was captured and all his hair shaved off. His people had to ransom him. Maddened by the insult, Kapidi resumed the war and killed Kale's younger brother. Fighting went on for about three years, and then the Baluba had to flee. They crossed the Kafue into Ila country, which then extended farther and was more densely populated than it is now. Kale pursued them It is said that Kapidi made a dog, empoisoned it, and sent it to bite Kale. Others say simply that Kale was bitten by a mad dog. Anyhow he died just as he and his people were about to cross the Kafue, and was taken home for burial. The Baluba chiefs now settled in the neighbourhood of the Mutumbwe Hill until they got to fighting among themselves. But first they had to make good their position among the Ba-ila. A protracted conflict took place, in which the poisoned arrows of the invaders gave them a great advantage, and the Ba-ila were compelled to surrender a considerable stretch of territory.[1]

The Bambwela settled on the Lunga were not left in peace. There had arisen in the Katanga country an adventurer named Mushidi (Msidi), called also Mwenda, Mwendabantu, Komesa. He was of the Wakalaganza, a principal tribe among the Wanyamwezi, his father being a minor chief under the notorious Mirambo. On one occasion Mushidi visited Katanga instead of his father, who was accustomed to go there trading for copper; the Katanga chief, Sanga, was at war with the Baluba, and Mushidi helped him with his guns—a new thing there—and defeated them. Mushidi returned home laden with ivory, but came back to stay, and on Sanga's death took his place. He carried war into all the countries around, added Lubaland to his dominions, encouraged refugees from the Lunda country, and until his death at the hands of Captain Bodson in 1892 was a terror to all neighbouring peoples.[2] He sent his armies, known to Baluba and Ba-ila as Mapupushi, or Bangalanganza, to invade the countries to the south. They fell upon the Bambwela on the Lunga and scattered them. A chief named Kabimba was slain, and his son, Muyani, escaped to Sitanda, but, being followed, came on to Makunko in Ila territory, and then later settled in the district of Isalama, where he still lives. We have this information from him. By this raid of Mushidi's people more Baluba were pressed forward into the Ila country, and fighting went on between the two peoples which only came to a close on the arrival of Sebitwane.

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[1] There had evidently been incursions from the Lunda country previous to this. Some say that Munyama (see Chap. XXII.) headed one of these.

[2] See F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze* (London, 1889); V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, 1877; D. Crawford, *Thinking Black* (London, 1912).

173
721

North of the Ila country to-day are found the Bakaundi, under their chief Kasempa, who also are an offshoot from the great Baluba tribe of the Congo; their home originally was on the Lukanga, a tributary of the Lualaba, and from there they came south to the Lukanga, a tributary of the Kafue. After a time the chiefship was annexed by Kawambala; he is said to have been a great chief but jealous of the young men of his family, especially of one Jipumpu (afterwards entitled Kasempa), his cousin, who was a mighty hunter. Kawambala treacherously attacked Jipumpu's village and carried off his wives; in revenge, Jipumpu ambushed him in the forest, and with his own hand sent an arrow through him. A son of Kawambala escaped, though badly wounded, and went to Kamimbe in Mushidi's country, returning after a time with an army against Jipumpu. Jipumpu was successful for a time but had then to withdraw into the Congo country, where for a year he remained among relatives. Then he returned, swept all before him, and ruled with the title Kasempa. He settled on the Kamsongolwa Hill and gathered around him great numbers of refugees. Mushidi's armies attacked him there, but the position was too strong and they failed. On one occasion at least Kasempa crossed the Kafue on a raiding expedition, and twice sent his men to fight and capture slaves among the Ba-ila. He died in 1907, and was succeeded by a nephew, Kasempa Kalusha.[1]

We turn now to the tribal movement from the south

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[1] Kasempa's history was communicated to us by Mr. Hazell, the District Commissioner. The chronology being vague, it is impossible to say what relation in time this account bears to the others given above.

173 which has so largely affected the Ba-ila. There is no need to repeat in detail the oft-told story of Sebitwane and the 721 Makololo.[1] Suffice it to say that the disturbances caused in South Africa by the Zulu Napoleon, Chaka, resulted both in Umziligazi founding the Matabele nation, and in Sebitwane, a Bafokeng chief of Basuto stock, leaving his home and pushing his way north in search of a peaceful abode. Sebitwane was then a young man of twenty, but so great already was his influence that, it is said, he had 30,000 followers. After being worsted by Umziligazi, the chief of the Matabele, about 1823, he struck north-east; driven off from Kuruman by the Griquas, he fought his way north through the Barolong and Bangwaketsi, through the Batawana of Lake Ngami, and ultimately reached the Linyanti, which, after two or three years, he followed down till he arrived on the Zambesi opposite Kazungula. It was a great march; what a pity there was no native Xenophon to tell the story! North of the Zambesi there was a quarrel between Sundamo, chief of the Basubia, and Sekute, chief of the Balea. The former begged Sebitwane's help against Sekute, who had his village on the island of Kalai, so he crossed the Zambesi. Then the Makololo (as Sebitwane's people were called) heard of the wealth of the Batonga in cattle, and planned either to conquer them or to rob them after lulling their suspicions by a show of friendship. When he saw the former plan was unfeasible Sebitwane contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Batonga chief Mosokotwane. After a time he collected the Batonga leaders, as if to consult with them about invading the Ba-ila, and while they sat in council unarmed his warriors massacred them with their chief. The herds of the unfortunate Batonga were captured—so many that they could not be numbered. Then Sebitwane went on to the Ba-ila, but on that occasion got no farther than the Mozuma River. The Ba-ila, though defeated by day, returned at night and recaptured their cattle.

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[1] See Dr. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, 1857, chap. iv.; A. Jalla, *Litaba tsa sechaba sa Marotse*, *passim* (a history of the Barotsi in the Kololo dialect); D. F. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor, *History of the Basuto*, 1913.

173 721 Sebitwane settled for a time at Kapoli near Kalomo and imposed his rule upon the tribes around, but the Ba-ila were not easily subdued. He went against them, first to Kasenga, where, after a day's fighting and heavy losses, they were defeated. Thence he went to Kabulamwanda and Mbeza. Having defeated Munyati at the latter place, he proceeded against the Bwengwa people, and thence to the Kafue to deal with the Batwa. He captured some of these unfortunates and compelled them to ferry his army across the river. The Batwa attempted no resistance, but all who could fled into their native swamps. Thence Sebitwane proceeded to Nyambo, where the Ba-ila offered great resistance, but after three days' fighting he defeated them. The Makololo drove off all the cattle, and, it is said, killed all the warriors they could get hold of, as well as the old men and women. Thence he went on as far as Shianamwenda (Longo), the Basala chieftainess, who submitted to him.

115 173 721 An old chief named Mukubu, living in Busala, is one of our informants for much of this history. He is indeed one of the most interesting men we have ever met. He was taken as a lad by Sebitwane from Longo and brought up in Barotsiland. He has described to us the coming of Livingstone and Oswell ("Mandevu"); he was present when the fatal accident befell Sebitwane; he later became Livingstone's servant, travelled with him to the west coast, and was with him when he discovered the Victoria Falls. He accompanied Sekeletu to Chimbulamukoa. Later he went with Livingstone as far as Zumbo. He seems to have had a share in all the subsequent fighting. He piloted the pioneers of the Baila-Batonga mission from Barotsiland to Nkala. He was then sent by Lewanika back to his native district of Busala to act as his representative. We asked him once to enumerate the men he had killed in battle, and with vivid detail he counted up to thirty-six, nearly all slain in single combat; they included representatives of most of the tribes against whom in his days the Makololo and Barotsi have fought.

173 721 While Sebitwane was still at Kapoli he had once again to meet a Matabele impi. He had sent an army under

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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721 one of his captains, Shili, to cross the Zambesi and raid Umziligazi's cattle. He succeeded to some extent, but the

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Photo E. W. Smith.

[illegible], Dr. Livingstone's Servant.

infuriated Matabele followed hard upon his heels. Hearing of their approach, Sebitwane withdrew to Sachitema and there at the mountain named by the Makololo *thaba ea* *basali* ("the women's mountain") a battle was fought; it raged all day and all night, and at dawn the survivors of the defeated Matabele fled. The name of the place is derived from the fact that even the women joined furiously in the fight. 173 721

Now once again, while Sebitwane was among the Basala, he heard that the Matabele were coming against him. Urged by a native prophet, who declared it to be the spirits' will that he should conquer the Barotsi, or Baloiana as they called themselves, he determined to go west and establish himself in security. His path led through Chiyadila, Makunko, Kabanga, Banamwazi—the people fleeing at his approach—thence through Buchele and Ianda. He turned aside to fight Kaingu, who fled. Thence he passed through the Mankoya and Matotela countries, and at last reached the Barotsi. At that time they were much divided amongst themselves, but Mobukwano, the chief, made a spirited appeal to them, and was able to get together a large army. At Kataba Sebitwane fought a battle against them, the result of which was the establishment of his ascendancy over them. He now settled at Naliele. He had been there but a month when he heard that the Matabele who had dogged his steps were at hand. They were under the leadership of Ngabe, who, some say, had been exiled by Umsiligazi, and was looking for a country in which to settle with his people. At once Sebitwane made one of his masterly strategic movements to the rear. He crossed the Zambesi and went on to the *Lueti* River. He was there advised that the country ahead contained but brackish water, and that it was a twenty days' journey across those *mabala a letsuai* ("salt-plains"). Thereupon he slew many cattle, out of whose hides he made large water-bags, which when filled he loaded upon other oxen, and marched, giving imperative orders for the economical use of the water. After crossing the dreary wastes, Sebitwane, in his incorrigible fashion, fell upon and defeated Salupito, the Mambukushu chief. Meanwhile the Matabele were following swiftly after, and before they realised the position, found themselves in the midst of the desert with no water and no food. They had at last to take to chewing their shields, sandals, and other bits of

173 721 dry skin. When they were almost at their last gasp, Sebitwane fell upon them. There were some women and children among the survivors, and these were kept. Of the men, only ten reached again the bank of the Lueti; keeping along the bank of the Zambesi, they crossed it at Sesheke and went on to Sekute, the Balea chief, who pretended to help, but marooned them on an island in the Zambesi. They tried to swim to the southern bank, but only one succeeded, and he, Ndoza by name, was the sole survivor, it is said, out of that great impi who got back to Umziligazi. What reception he met with we are not told.

This was not the last time the Makololo and Matabele met in what was really a contest for the dominion over these tribes. The Matabele came again and again, but were always worsted. By the time the last expedition reached the Zambesi Sebitwane was fully master of the whole territory, and was able to patrol the river so effectively that they could not cross, although they had with extraordinary labour brought canoes with them. When they were on the point of starving on the south bank, Sebitwane sent messengers, driving some fat cattle, who asked why they should persist in attacking their chief, who had never done them harm, and who, they added, thinking they might be rather hungry, had now sent them "a little bread." Mukubu, who was there, tells us that Sebitwane sent in fifty oxen, then fifty more, as the Matabele were still hungry, until in all three hundred had been consumed. Sebitwane had conquered: the Matabele never attacked him again.

For five years after the battle of Kataba, Sebitwane was fully engaged in consolidating his rule over the Barotsi and other tribes. By his kindly disposition and wise rule he quickly conciliated the peoples whom the terror of his arms had taught to fear him.

In previous years the Barotsi had sent marauding expeditions against the wealthy cattle-owning Ba-ila. Mulambwa, grandfather of the late Barotsi chief Lewanika, had sent one at least. We are told of a people called the Bashituchila from the far east, who, after raiding the Ba-ila cattle, passed on and informed the Barotsi, inciting them to do the same, but who these were we do not know. And now Sebitwane, with the threefold purpose of plundering cattle and establishing and extending his dominion, led or sent three armies at various times against the Ba-ila and beyond. 173 721

The first of these, led by his nephew Mpepe, brought back herds of cattle and numbers of slaves, after killing Kaingu and Mushanana, two prominent chiefs. The cattle came mostly from Bambwe and Lubwe. Old men still recall the terror caused by the coming of Mpepe. The Makololo called this *ntoa ea makana* ("the war of the axes") because of the battle-axes with which Sebitwane had armed them.

The second raid was named by the Makololo *Hoia-hoia*, or the Kasenga war, and was noteworthy for the amount of cattle taken at Kasenga and Nyambo. Their leaders were Munangombe, who raided the country south, and Muzazani, who raided that north of the Kafue. An old chief, Nakabanga, now living at Busangu, was, as a lad, one of those carried away captive on this occasion. With others he fled across the river to get away from Munangombe, only to fall into Muzazani's hands on the other side. He was taken to Kazungula, and remained there until on becoming a man he made good his escape. He tells us that Muzazani met on the other side of the Kafue a man named Saidi coming down from the north, who subsequently went to Linyanti. This man, Saidi, is frequently mentioned in the accounts we have received of the old days. The Nanzela people say he visited them, evidently on his return from Linyanti, and passed to the north-east, crossing the river at Kaundu. He is said to have travelled with a large gang of men tied to a chain; some speak of his constant bowing to earth in the attitude of prayer; others say he would only eat of an animal whose throat he had himself cut. Evidently an Arab slave-trader. We are inclined to identify him with Sa'id ibn Habib, the slave-trader mentioned so often in Livingstone's *Last Journals*, and with the Ibn Habib who, as Livingstone tells us, visited Sekeletu in 1854,[1] and advised and led him to attack the people at

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[1] Cameron, in Feb. 1874, mentions this man at Ujiji; says he had met Livingstone both in Sekeletu's country and Manyuema.

173 Chimbulamukoa. If this be correct, it is the first notice
721 we have of the operations of the Arab slave-traders among the Ba-ila.

The third raid ordered by Sebitwane and conducted by Mpepe was notable by reason of the death of the chief Sezongo.

We must here interrupt our narrative in order to bring up the story of the Nanzela people to the time of Sezongo's death.[1] They, like the Baluba, are immigrants from a distance who have won for themselves a residence in Ila territory, but who, unlike the Baluba, have adopted the Ila tongue. They come from Barotsi country in the neighbourhood of Lealui, and their chiefs claim kinship with the Mulambwa mentioned above. Mulambwa's two daughters, Mofwe and Kalube, married, it is said, two men named Kalenge and Mwansha. One of Kalenge's servants went to visit a party of the newly arrived Makololo, and found them catching fish; they gave him some, and he took a portion to his master. Irritated by the fact that these strangers were poaching on their preserves, Kalenge and Mwansha led their people against them, but, being worsted, they left their home and settled in the district of Mutondo, and subsequently on the Lui. There the Makololo came on them with peremptory orders to return to their homes in the valley, but after much altercation they were allowed to go their way. Kalenge then led his followers from place to place till they reached Mwange on the Nanzela River. At each place, it is said, they slew or drove away the previous inhabitants. They removed to the Kalenge River, and there a certain Shachibinsha rebelled against Kalenge and Mwansha and compassed their death. It is from that circumstance that the river derives its name. Shachibinsha now became chief, and moved his people to Nkumbi in the neighbourhood of Sachitema. There he became famous, but not for long. In five years' time Sezongo deserted him and established himself as chief at Nakalomwe. He was a great hunter and grew rich on the proceeds of the elephants he killed, and all his wealth in cattle, slaves, ivory, and *impande* shells he lavished upon those who would help him to gratify his revenge or ambition upon Shachibinzha. He executed his purpose and became chief in Shachibinzha's place. He established his villages at Namadindi, between Mwanakaba and Kasamo, and became great in the land. The neighbouring Ba-ila took up arms against the intruder, but were soon glad to leave him in possession of the district he had seized.

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[1] We have a short history of these people written for us by Thomas Sezongo, son of Munaenzha, Sezongo II., from information collected by him from the old men, especially Lesale.

173
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It seems to have been at this time that the numbers of his people were reinforced by union with some immigrants from Munga in the Batonga country. He carried on war against his neighbours and added the captives to the number of his subjects. He also bought many people for ivory. This explains why it is that the Nanzela people (Balumbu) are such a mixture of Batonga, Ba-ila, Mankoya, Matotela, Barotsi, and others.

The sudden appearance of about three hundred Matabele, fugitives from Sebitwane, caused great perturbation at Nchelenge, but, calling his people together, Sezongo calmly proposed to destroy the unwelcome visitors by stratagem. He prepared a great feast, to which the hungry and unsuspecting Matabele were invited. They responded gladly, and enjoyed a good meal and—beer. After a time Sezongo sent to inspect them, but learnt that the deadly *mantembe* drink had not yet taken effect. The next inspection revealed the fact that the dreaded Matabele were lying moribund. Then at Sezongo's orders to spare only the children, the men seized their axes and the women their hoes and speedily despatched the helpless fugitives. Only the young boys and girls were kept; their descendants are still there. The heads were chopped round above the ears and the crania placed in *shizongo* baskets and taken to the chief to be used as goblets: hence his name Sezongo. The native report of this dastardly massacre invariably ends with a tribute to the chief's prowess: *Chobeni hadi malombwana chinichini* ("He was truly very much a man").

It was at Namadindi that the Makololo army found Sezongo. A very old man told us that he remembers the

173 721 incident, and declares that Sebitwane came in person with Mpepe. Sebitwane, he says, had called upon Sezongo to pay tribute as the Ba-ila chiefs were doing, but Sezongo defied him. The Ba-ila chiefs along the south bank of the Kafue, from Lubwe to Kabulamwanda, for once agreed to combine against Sebitwane in support of Sezongo, but the league dissolved upon the approach of the Makololo, and he was left to face the conqueror's wrath alone. His people were in terror, but he calmly put aside their advice to seek safety in flight, went on with his preparations, and sent out scouts. "They are in clouds, not as men, but as locusts; let us flee," reported the craven scouts. But Sezongo stood his ground. His younger brother, Shambala, basely deserted with many people, and Sezongo, with a greatly diminished force, found himself surrounded by the Makololo. The little band fought bravely, but it was a hopeless struggle; after a time their store of spears and arrows was exhausted, and they had only their axes. The Makololo pressed their advantage, but Sezongo refused to yield. Seizing an *icheba* (a kind of cutlass), he charged them again and again, and clove many heads, and all the time his drums were sounding defiance against the invaders. On he fought, while one by one his followers fell—all save his *shamanga* (personal attendant) and the drummers. "Don't kill him, take him alive," shouted the Makololo, but, with blood pouring from many wounds, he refused to yield or be captured, and wielded his *ichebe* with such skill and power that the unequal contest was long in drawing to a close. Finally, he was beaten to his knees, and fell pierced with many spears. His *shamanga* shared his fate, and the drummers were taken alive.

When the Makololo had departed, the fugitives came creeping back to their homes, and sent word to Shambala that his brother was dead. On inheriting the chiefship, Shambala went to live at Kakuse; after his death his nephew Munaswaba became chief. His first act was to kill all Shambala's councillors; then he removed to Kasangu and later to Manimbwa, where the tribe still lives. He traded much with the Mambari slavers, not selling people, but buying them for ivory. Like the heroic Sezongo I.,

[text continues on p. 37]

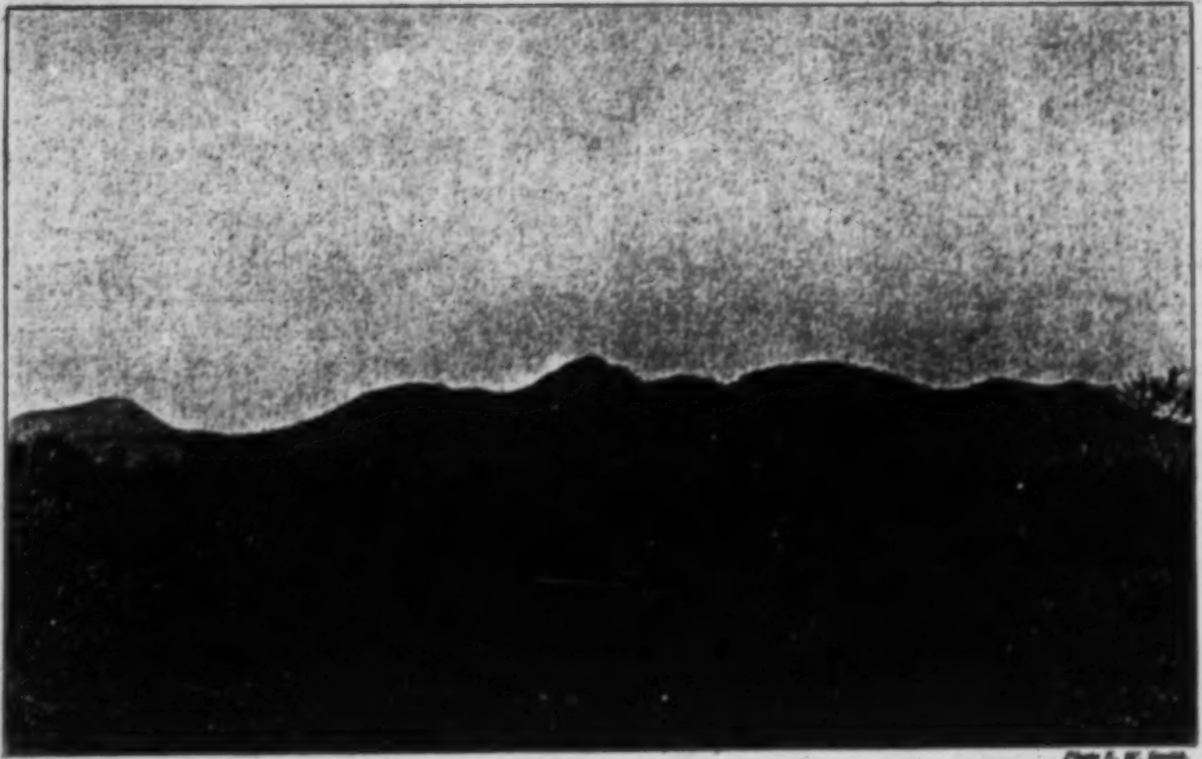

Photo E. W. Smith.

THE NAMBALA MOUNTAIN.

1:Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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133
137
[p. 37]

173 721 he was a great hunter, and in this way used his skill to build up his power. He became a chief of much weight, but was averse from fighting when he could get his way otherwise. The Basanga people, and later they of Lubwe, put in claims to the land that he occupied, and his councillors strongly advised to resist the claims by arms. But he agreed to pay; the Basanga received two slaves and a hundred hoes, and the Lubwe people a similar amount, and thus he secured indisputable possession of the locality, where his people have lived ever since. Sezongo II., as we knew Munaswaba, died in 1904, and since then his people, who had been getting out of hand during his later years, have become much divided among themselves, largely owing to the weakness of his successors. Sezongo III. died mysteriously, most people said by poison. Sezongo IV. died in prison, where he was serving a sentence for inciting to murder.

Going back to Sebitwane, we may notice here that in 1851 he met Livingstone and Oswell at Linyanti, the first Europeans to visit this part of Africa. He was then, Livingstone tells us, a man under fifty. Into his short life he had crowded an amazing course of adventure and conquest, but now his end was near, and he died in July that year. It is perhaps worth recording that there is a difference between Livingstone's and the native accounts of his death. Livingstone says: "He fell ill of pneumonia set up by the irritation of some old spear wounds in his chest."[1] The native story is this: Livingstone had a horse named Sekarebe (? Scarab) which Sebitwane was eager to ride, but Livingstone refused, saying it was too wild. Sebitwane persisted, and at last the Doctor yielded. The horse set off at a canter, and Sebitwane rode it to the intense admiration of his assembled subjects. Coming back, the chief whipped it to a gallop, the multitude burst into a cheer, and the horse, making a sudden swerve, threw him. As they picked him up, Sebitwane said, "My children, it has broken me." Next day Livingstone had the people assembled, and asked them whether they blamed him for their chief's accident; and they exonerated him, saying that Sebitwane had only

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[1] *Missionary Travels*, p. 77; W. E. Oswell, *The Life of W. C. Oswell* (London, 1900), vol. i. p. 246.

himself to blame for insisting on riding a horse he had been warned against. Six days later Sebitwane died.[1] 173
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It was at this time that, as far as we can ascertain, the existence of the Ba-ila first became known to the outside world. They were first mentioned in the following paragraph written by Dr. Livingstone, and published in England in July 1852. The Mambari, he says, came to Sebitwane in 1850, "carrying great quantities of cloth and a few old Portuguese guns marked Legitimo de Braga, and though cattle and ivory were offered in exchange, everything was refused, except boys about fourteen years of age. The Makololo viewed the traffic with dislike, but having great numbers of the black race living in subjection to them, they were too easily persuaded to give these for the guns. Eight of these old useless guns were given to Sebitwane for as many boys. They then invited the Makololo to go on a foray against the Bashikulompo, stipulating beforehand that, in consideration of the use to be made of their guns in the attack on the tribe, they should receive all the captives, while the Makololo should receive all the cattle. . . . The Mambari went off with about 200 slaves, bound in chains, and both parties were so well pleased with the new customers that they promised to return in 1851."[2] Livingstone tells us that on this foray the Makololo met some Arabs from Zanzibar who presented them with three English muskets and in return received about thirty of their captives. Evidently this was the raid referred to on p. 33.

These Mambari, from Bihe in Portuguese West Africa, paid visits subsequently to, and probably before this; indeed it is only within quite recent years that, under the stress of British rule, they abandoned their piratory excursions. It would be a mistake to suppose that they simply raided slaves or bought them for export or for use on the Portuguese plantations. They seem to have had two objects—slaves and ivory; where they could they bought both with the

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[1] This story was first brought to our notice by Mr. F. V. Worthington, and we have since been told it, quite spontaneously, by various old men in different parts of the country.

[2] This paragraph was kindly communicated to us by Rev. A. Baldwin, who took it from an old Life of Livingstone. It was originally published in the *Missionary Magazine*.

173
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goods they carried with them, but when it was to their advantage they did not mind bartering the one for the other. They bought much ivory from the Ba-ila for slaves. This fact is to be remembered when thinking of the mixed condition of the Ba-ila and the ravages of the slave-trade.

The Mambari had a friend in Mpepe among the Makololo, and he assisted them in their raids among the Ba-ila and Batonga. Dr. Livingstone has described the machinations of this man against Sekeletu, Sebitwane's successor, and his violent death in 1853.

Sekeletu renewed the forays upon the Ba-ila, and in 1854-55 extended his travels as far as Chimbulamukoa, in the neighbourhood of the great Lukanga swamp. There had been quarrels among the Baluba chiefs, with the result that fighting took place between the adherents of Mabanga and Kaindu. Kaindu's brother was slain; and, on the other side, Mabanga was killed and finally his people were driven from their homes. The heir, Shipopa by name, fled for refuge to the chief Chinga Kaingu at Itumbi. There was another fugitive there, an Ila chief named Shimudiahi from Nanungwe, a gentle rascal whose pleasant foible it was to raid his neighbours and put out the eyes of as many as he could capture, until one day they rounded on him and drove him out. These two sent to invite Sekeletu to come to their help; Ibn Habib put in a word for a foray upon Chimbulamukoa, and Sekeletu, nothing loth, set out with a great army for the Kafue. Once at the river, he divided his forces; one party went up the river in canoes and other parties swept across country. From several old men we have heard of the horror of that time, when, as they said, the nights were lit up by the innumerable camp-fires of the raiders. Villages were burnt, cattle swept away, women and children captured, old people ruthlessly massacred, and great numbers of men killed and taken prisoners. They left behind them a devastated, famine-stricken land. So dire was the famine that, as one old man told us, if a person were lucky enough to find a grain of corn he would jealously hide it in his *impumbe* till sowing time.

On another occasion Sekeletu sent his generals, Leshodi and Katukula, to loot cattle from Monze, Banakaila, and other places. The Makololo called this raid *Bungwidimbe* ("a flock of pigeons"), because the looted cattle were very many but very small.

Sekeletu died in 1863 (strangled, says Mukubu) and was succeeded by Mamili, who was driven away by Mbololo, the last of the Makololo dynasty. His reign of cruelty aroused the Barotsi, who had suffered the Makololo yoke all this time, and, led by Sepopa and his captain Njekwa, they expelled Mbololo and exterminated the Makololo, saving the women. The revolution resulted in Sepopa becoming chief in August 1864. In 1866 he sent an expedition against the Batonga, and in 1871 against the Ba-ila.

According to another account he sent no expedition against the Ba-ila, as by now they were paying tribute regularly. His induna in charge of the collection of the tribute, a man named Musisimi, had trouble with the Bwengwa people, and was killed by them while trying to enforce the payment. Sepopa would have led a punitive expedition against them, but was killed by the Barotsi before he could put his plans into execution. Musisimi's death was avenged by an army led by Lutango.[1] Sepopa was succeeded by Mwanawina, the son of Sebeso, his younger brother. In 1878 he ordered a raid upon the Ba-ila. Mokubesa, who was to collect the army, seized the opportunity of overthrowing Mwanawina in favour of Lobosi (Lewanika). Lobosi, who was born in 1842, was made chief, and, with one lengthy interval spent in exile, ruled until his death in February 1916. His policy, probably inherited from Makololo predecessors, was to extend his empire in all directions and to impose upon all subject-races Barotsi customs and the Kololo dialect, which, although the Makololo had been wiped out, was still the official language. He took young men from the provinces, reared them at his court, and sent them home as his representatives, thoroughly Rotsiized.

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[1] This information comes from the Barotsi, but the *Ba-ila* say that Sepopa arrived in person. There seems to be some misapprehension here, for the Ba-ila will have it that Sepopa and Lutango were one and the same, whereas from Barotsi sources we learn that Lutango was Sepopa's *ngambela* (chief councillor), and was the leader of the rebellion against him in 1876.

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In 1882 he led an army against the Ba-ila. On arrival at Manimbwa he reassured Senongo's people, who were terror-stricken at the sight of this great army. "You are my children, do not fear," he said. "I am going to the Ba-ila and Batonga. If any of you wish to fight, come with us." A number volunteered, and Lewanika pressed on to the Ba-ila, raiding the cattle from Bambwe, Kasenga, Kabulamwanda, and Bwengwa. On arriving among the Batonga he divided his army, sending one party back under Katema to complete the raiding of the Ba-ila, while he swept through the Batonga country, and so home. Huge herds of cattle were driven off and a great many Ba-ila were left killed, while the Barotsi loss was but small. It was the custom of the Barotsi to decapitate every enemy slain and give his calvarium as a drinking-cup to a warrior who had distinguished himself in the fight. Armed with guns, kerries, and shields, the Barotsi had no great difficulty in overcoming the Ba-ila, who had only their throwing-spears. On the return of the expedition to Barotsiland the spoil was divided: slaves, cattle, and other things. Many of the warriors, it is said, had secretly conveyed to their homes a large portion of their booty, so that, after receiving their share as well from the common stock, they became rich at the expense of the Ba-ila.

In 1888 came the final Barotsi razzia, Lewanika's second, upon the Ba-ila. The Rev. F. Coillard has left on record an account of the starting of this expedition. He writes: "The Barotsi, unlike the Makololo, are not a pastoral people. . . . Here all are immolated, without distinction and without special reason, bulls and heifers, oxen and calves. When the herd has vanished, each man looks at his neighbour and raises the cry, 'To the Mashukulumbwe!' . . . During the recent troubles the bovine race has been almost literally exterminated in the country. To this unbridled prodigality a famine succeeded; it was only to be expected. Then as always the cry arose: 'To the Mashukulumbwe!'"[1] Mr. Coillard expresses his astonishment at the number of guns possessed by the Barotsi; they

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[1] F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 298 *et seq.*

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were of varied calibre, mostly flintlocks. At the head of the army marched a young girl, chosen by means of the divining-bones, and regarded as the interpreter of the gods, without whom nothing was to be done. Mr. Coillard reckoned that when all the contingents were collected Lewanika would have from ten to twelve thousand men at least. That heroic missionary showed himself a true friend of humanity by striving to the utmost to dissuade Lewanika from his purpose; it was in vain, but it was owing to his growing influence that this was the last raid that Lewanika organised.

The great army—great, at least, for Central Africa—swept like a hurricane or a cloud of locusts through the Ila country. In the absence of any cohesion among the various communities resistance was vain. Some desultory fighting took place, and some stragglers from the main bands were cut off, but otherwise the loss among the invaders was very small. Many of the Ba-ila fled to their refuges in the mountains, but Lewanika had divided his army into sections, some of which crossed the Kafue, and escape was almost impossible. Some of the chiefs surrendered without any show of resistance. Shaloba of Lubwe, for example, asked to be allowed to submit and pay tribute, and on receiving permission took a stick and walking through his great herd of cattle divided it into two, handing the larger portion over to the Barotsi. In other cases, as with Shapela on the north bank, the chiefs not only surrendered but gave much help to the invaders. Some showed more spirit. A man named Katimbila was compelled to ferry a number of Barotsi across the Kafue; in mid-stream, by an adroit move, he seized a spear, drove it into one of them, capsized the rest into the river and escaped to land. The women suffered with the rest, and many were carried away by their captors. The wife of one chief, Mwashaboya, was so distressed by the death of her husband that she threw herself into the river, saying that she had no desire to live longer.

After leading his men in person—and the sight of him on horseback was a new terror to the Ba-ila—Lewanika returned with the greater part of the army to Barotsiland, leaving another section to complete the devastation in the

175 Mbesa district and the hills to the east. At Mbesa this
721 army met with a reverse, for the inhabitants called upon Mapanza and others to help them, and overpowered the Barotsi. Until a few years ago a pile of skulls was exhibited as a trophy of victory over the invaders, exhibited, indeed, until an English hunting-party desecrated the sacred enclosure, taking one of the skulls away with them, which so disgusted the natives that they neglected the place afterwards.

This expedition lasted five months, and the invaders returned home in August 1888 with an immense booty in women, children, and cattle. Mr. Coillard was assured that more cattle died on the way than arrived, but even so it would take a month, he said, to distribute the rest after Lewanika had taken his share.

Thus far of the raids from north and west; now we turn east and south. The Angoni from far-off Nyasaland once at least pushed their forays as far as the Basodi living north of the lower Kafue, but they do not seem to have reached the Ba-ila. Many years ago the Bambala were twice raided by the Bachikunda from Portuguese country south of the Zambesi. Their leader was Kanyemba. Mr. Selous, who met this man in 1877, describes him as "a full-blooded black man . . . who possesses both the will and the power to do immense harm, a slave-trader and a murderer."[1] He seems to have come originally from the lower Zambesi in the Tete district; he was then living on an island in the Zambesi near the mouth of the Kafue. He had a host of followers armed with flintlocks, and these he sent or led raiding, always taking care to preface a raid by sending a letter to the Governor of Tete complaining of injury done to Portuguese trade and subjects, and asking for a *permis de guerra*. We have no details of these razzias on the Bambala.

Nor were these all. The Matabele on their expeditions against Sebitwane had heard of the wealth of the Ba-ila in cattle, and directed two of their raids upon them. In the first they reached Bwengwa and went off with much booty.

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[1] F. C. Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (London, 1907), pp. 313-16.

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In the second they raided all the country on the south of the Kafue, from Kabulamwanda to Nkala. The memory

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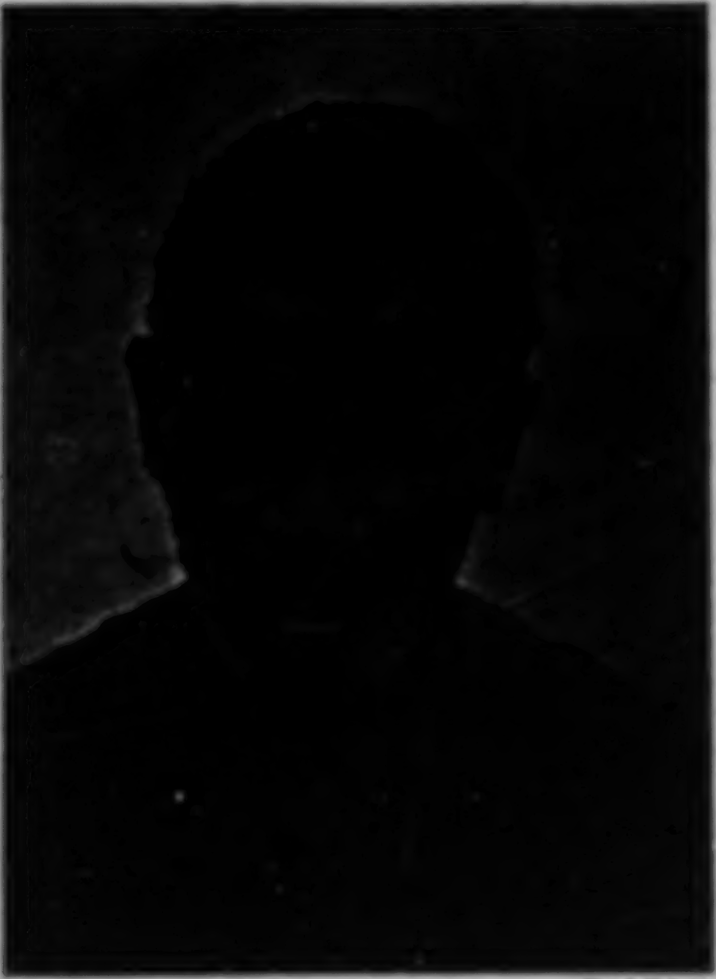

Photo E. W. Smith

LAMBIA, ONE OF OUR INFORMANTS.

A Balumbu Type.

of this raid is still very vivid in the minds of the Ba-ila, and they cannot repress a groan when they recall the immense

175 herds of cattle captured, the numbers of their people carried off, and the famine that ensued upon the destruction of
721 their crops. There was little opposition to the fierce warriors of Lobengula—Ngwalungwalu, as the Ba-ila call him. When we remarked on this, one old man said: "If you were in a hut and guns were pointed in at you on all sides would you put up a fight?" Many of the Matabele lost their lives by drowning in the swamps. The Ba-ila drove their cattle through the floods into the islands, and the Matabele, eager in pursuit, though by nature timorous in water, became submerged. Some of their guns were found afterwards when the waters subsided. Many Ba-ila were carried away, and though some escaped subsequently and returned to their homes, the majority are still among the Matabele.

In 1892-93 there was another raid of the Matabele, but they did not reach the Ba-ila, as they were swept away by smallpox while among the Batonga. As two of the best impis were on this expedition, their loss was heavily felt in the subsequent war against the British South Africa Company.

A few years later the rinderpest, on its way through Africa, swept across the Ila country, causing huge devastation among the cattle, and thus striking another blow at the Ba-ila in this their tenderest point.

4. CONTACT OF THE BA-ILA WITH EUROPEANS

175 Who the first European was to enter the Ila country we cannot determine. It may very well be that in early days Portuguese travellers, passing from west to east, or from east to west, traversed this territory; for it appears from what Major Serpa Pinto says[1] that the ordinary trade route from

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[1] Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa* (London, 1881), vol. ii. p. 113: "The Bihenos pombeiros are accustomed to pass to the north of the Lui, cross the country of the Mochaches and at length come upon an enormous river which they call the Loengue. That river they use in their trade journeys, and know it well from its very source. They go down it in their canoes to its mouth, where it assumes the name of Cafucue. . . . It is rare to find a Biheno who travels at all who has not been at Cainco." In August 1878 Pinto was at Lealui intending to follow this route and explore the Kafue,

Angola to Zumbo passed through Kaingu, and down the Kafue, but so far as we know there is no record of such travels.

It is certain that in more recent years travellers entered the country and left no record, for the simple reason that they never emerged alive. Mr. Coillard, writing in 1888, says that within the last few years he had heard of Portuguese traders, of the son of a missionary he knew, and of his partner, a young Englishman, who had been massacred by the Ba-ila.

Dr. Livingstone is the first traveller in this country of whom we have an authentic record, and he passed just outside the confines of the Ila territory. The Balumbu of Nanzela remember seeing him while they were living near Kalomo. Various old men, like Mukubu and Nakabanga, taken when young by the Makololo and since returned to their homes, have spoken to us of meeting and travelling with him; the impression made upon their minds by him was so strong that they declare he was more than man. He was, as we have seen, the first to write of the Ba-ila; he met a party of them in the neighbourhood of Monze in 1855. In his original map of the Zambesi, made in 1853-1854, he has incorporated information derived from natives, and on it we can recognise, wrongly placed, the names of Mokobela, Sealoba, and Mosianana: chiefs bearing those titles are still living.

The first white man spoken of by the people as having passed through their country came from the west and travelled east. This seems to have been some fifty-five years ago. He travelled quite alone, without food or arms or attendants. He appeared suddenly at Lubwe, and an old man there has given us a graphic description of the event. He was middle-aged, thin, and pale; all have remarked upon his paleness, using the word *bwalangana*, ("transparent"). When his fingers hung down they say

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but was prevented by Lewanika. Silva Porto (in 1853-54) followed the route from the West Coast to Naliele (on the Zambesi), then to Kaingu (Cabingo), and to Cabimbo (? Kasembe) and on to the East Coast. See the map in *The Lands of Cazembe*, translated and annotated by Captain R. F. Burton (London, 1873).

1: Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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you could see the blood flowing into them. He was evidently in a state of exhaustion upon his arrival at Lubwe, for he sank upon the ground, and feebly pointed to a pipe one of the men was smoking. In his pocket he had a small packet of powdered tobacco (opium ?), and filling the pipe with difficulty he smoked a few minutes, coughing violently.

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FACSIMILE OF A SMALL SECTION OF LIVINGSTONE'S ORIGINAL MAP OF THE ZAMBESI RIVER TERRITORY MADE ON HIS GREAT JOURNEY ACROSS AFRICA, 1853-56.

(By permission of the London Missionary Society.)

Then he fell back insensible, and they threw water on him. 175 On recovering he struggled to his feet and pursued his journey eastwards. He appeared later at Mala, to the consternation of the people, who fled at the unwonted sight. Nobody could understand him, nor be understood by him; he would eat none of the food offered to him, and after a short rest he went on his way along the Kafue. The figure of this lonely traveller in mid-Africa is one that appeals to the imagination, and it would be interesting to know his identity and subsequent history.

We have heard that the next to visit the Ba-ila were two travellers named Chingaingai and Mitelo, who came from the west and passed away east. They are said to have been in search of ivory. Some say they were carried in machilas and were Bazungu, *i.e.* Portuguese, but others affirm they wore long flowing robes and sandals like Arabs. Some thirty to forty years ago three travellers, named by the natives Shimonae, Machenjesha, and Chikwasa, came from the east and went west. They carried long guns and brought goods with which to buy ivory. These appear to have been Portuguese.

The Balumbu of Nanzela also tell of three "Matembeshi" who came many years ago from the south beyond Mangwato. They were sportsmen, as is evident from the fact that they took only the trophies of the animals they killed. They may have been either Griqua or Boer hunters.

The earliest traveller actually among the Ba-ila who has 175 left a record was Dr. Emil Holub (1847-1902), a native of 648 Bohemia, who in 1872 went to the Kimberley mines, where he practised as a surgeon. With a companion named Oswald Söllner and Mrs. Holub he arrived at the Zambesi in June 1886 with the intention of exploring the country to the north, and crossing the continent to Egypt; they were thus the first to set out on the "Cape-to-Cairo" route.[1] From Kazungula he passed over the plateau towards the Ila country, via Mapanza, everywhere hearing

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[1] Dr. Emil Holub, *Von der Capstadt ins Land der Maschukulumbe, Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1883-1887*, 2 vols. (Wien, Alfred Hölder, 1890). (No English translation.) We have also a local newspaper report of a lecture given by Dr. Holub at Kimberley after his return.

175 the worst tidings of the wild people to the north, and being strongly advised not to visit them. On entering 648 the Bwila he noted that, although four years before Lewanika had taken more than 40,000 head of cattle, it was a loss hardly to be noticed among the great herds that remained. They passed through Mbeza, Kabulamwanda, Kasenga to Busangu. The rascally behaviour of the natives of these last two places, he says, so terrified his servants that one dark night many of them deserted. The Ba-ila came to attack them, but they were on the watch, and the attempt failed. They then endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to maroon them on an island in the Kafue. On the north bank of the river they found "every day an endless torture." Once, they believed, an attempt was made to poison them. On the way from Nyambo to Lukonga many of their possessions were pillaged. They were told of Portuguese living beyond the hills that Holub named the Franz-Josefs Berge, and determined to make their way thither. At Lukonga they left Sollner with the donkeys and most of the remaining goods, while they, Dr. and Mrs. Holub, went forward to explore. Holub's account, in the twenty-fourth chapter of his book, of their adventures on that second day of August makes excellent reading. The night was so black as they stole out of camp at 1 A.M. that, after feeling about with their hands for the path, they had soon to retrace their steps towards the village and wait for dawn, at which, says he pathetically, "I should like to have been able to cry, if only it were possible." At daybreak they followed a path into the swamps, through water breast-deep at times, with thick mud underfoot, so viscid that they lost their boots. On they blundered, slipping, falling, for six hours, Holub at times carrying his wife (who behaved most pluckily throughout), and at last emerged and reached a village. The chief gave them guides, and they went on some distance towards the pass; but Holub was seized by a presentiment that all was not well, and by dire threats compelled the guides to divulge the chief's instructions. As for the Portuguese—there were none. He awoke to what he believed to be the plans of the Ba-ila: to separate him from Sollner, then to kill them all. He gave the order to return,

1:Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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and they waded through the swamp again, this time in two hours. On approaching Lulonga they discovered one of their men hiding in the reeds, and from him heard of the catastrophe that had befallen "the Austro-Hungarian-African expedition." The camp had been attacked, Sollner mortally wounded by spears, and the goods plundered. Holub ascribes it all to Sollner's philanthropy: "The misplaced confidence he showed them always and everywhere cost him his life." What was immediately valuable to the Ba-ila had been carried off; books and scientific instruments and other things were lying littered about, and among them Holub descried what he accounted most precious of all—diaries. As he warily collected these, the Ba-ila crept up behind, and it seemed that he would be cut off, but Mrs. Holub saved the situation. Beyond saying that she seized a gun and enabled him to escape, Holub is rather vague, and it is at this point, we think, some details supplied by the natives will fit in most naturally. They say that Mrs. Holub fired and killed one man, fired a second time, and killed both a man and a woman, and that this scared the Ba-ila. Dr. Holub, they add, did nothing, but with his arms full of his precious records he was, as he says himself, helpless. The Ba-ila drew off, and the way was open for their escape. Leaving Sollner's body unvisited and unburied—if indeed he were already dead, which they do not seem to have ascertained—they set off towards the south. Once the Ba-ila tried to block the path, but a volley into their midst scattered them. After another painful march through swamps they reached the open plain, newly burnt and covered with short thick stubble, across which they made their way. Their bare feet were severely punished, "every step was accompanied by sighs and groans." With the intense heat, thirst, and hunger they suffered such agonies that after a three hours' march they were giddy and bordering on insensibility. Parties of Ba-ila hovered near, but they were not again molested—by this time they were beyond caring whether they were killed or not—and after nightfall reached the Kafue at the point where they had crossed. They were glad to make a scanty supper off a fragment of half-rotten pumpkin they found in a field.

175 648 They discovered a small canoe on an islet in the stream, but when, for the promise of a gun, one of the men swam over and fetched it they found it useless, for it would hold only one person. A further promise of a double-barrelled gun induced the man to seek another canoe on the opposite bank, and so in twos they reached the islet. Then a fearful storm—very unusual for August—broke out and the high waves seemed to make it impossible to go farther, until at last, spurred by the necessity of getting past the Busangu villages before dawn, Holub ventured to cross. At midnight he stood on the south bank, and at last, twenty-four hours after stealing out of their camp at Lukonga, they were all in comparative safety. Ultimately, on August 22, they reached the Zambesi in an "utterly prostrate and destitute condition."

We get the impression that in all this affair Dr. Holub displayed a lack of courage and tact in dealing with the Ba-ila. We think he was over-suspicious at times, often led astray by his Batonga or Barotsi interpreters, and that if at the first he had been more tactful with the people, had understood them better, and had shown a bolder front, he would have had a milder adventure. Some of the pictures in his book excite us to laughter.

The Ba-ila are very reticent about it, and mostly deny all recollection of Holub. In July 1913 we visited Lukonga and quietly questioned the chief Mwanashimabula; he is old enough to remember Holub's visit, but is a newcomer, and eager to deny all responsibility. We learn from him that during Lewanika's raid in 1888 the Barotsi found the chief Zumbwa Shimata (Holub calls him Uschumata-Zumbo) and all his people on an island in the swamps, and surrounded and annihilated them every one. For some time Lukonga was a desolation; then Musulwe, the overlord, took this Mwanashimabula from Chomba, installed him as chief, and gave permission to such of his people who wished to remove there, so that the village might be re-established. But it has never flourished, and remains the most miserable place in the country.

The story of this misadventure greatly increased the dread inspired by other accounts of the Ba-ila, and the next

traveller was very strongly urged to give them a wide berth. 175
This was Mr. F. C. Selous, the famous hunter. Already in 618
1877 he had crossed the Zambesi at Wankie, and made his way north to what he called Manicaland, reaching Sitanda in January 1878, the first Englishman to visit that district. He was out to shoot elephant, but in that respect it was an unsatisfactory trip. It was a very wet season; he nearly died of fever and starvation, and Sitanda only wished that he might die and leave him in possession of his guns.[1] And now in 1888 Mr. Selous again crossed the Zambesi on a hunting trip. He was minded not to enter Ila country, but after leaving the Batonga at Monze's, through some miscalculation, he found himself in the midst of the Ba-ila at Minenga's. To all appearances the people were friendly, and they constrained Selous to pitch camp in front of the principal village, but notwithstanding their friendly demeanour they had already determined to massacre the whole party. No suspicion of their intention seems to have been entertained until in the evening Selous heard that all the women had been sent from the village. An attack was made shortly afterwards; three guns went off in Selous' face, and a shower of spears poured into the camp. How any of them managed to escape is a marvel. But the long grass around the village favoured them, and into this the survivors made their way. Selous became separated from the others, and after many hairbreadth escapes, during which he lost his rifle, he ultimately reached the Batonga villages and was safe, though almost naked and robbed of nearly all he possessed. An explanation which somewhat palliates the offence as far as the Ba-ila are concerned, is that they were instigated to it by some rebel Barotsi, who thought that Selous was in possession of a large store of gunpowder, which they wanted for use against their own chief.[2]

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[1] F. C. Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (London, 1907), pp. 300 *et seq.*

[2] F. C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (London, 1893), pp. 216 *et seq.* Of the Ba-ila, Selous said: "They are a fine sturdy-looking race of men; very many of them have rather aquiline features and are at the same time lighter in colour than their fellows, and it appears to me that amongst them there is a strong admixture of some other blood than the negro—perhaps Arab or some other North African race," p. 220.

175 648 797 The next comers, and the first settlers among the Ba-ila, were the pioneers of the Baila-Batonga Mission of the Primitive Methodist Church, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Buckenham and the Rev. A. Baldwin, who reached Nkala in 1893, and the Rev. F. and Mrs. Pickering and Rev. W. Chapman, who followed in 1895.[1]

175 648 Colonel St. Hill Gibbons, in the course of his explorations during 1895-96, passed along the outskirts of the Ila country, visiting Nanzela, Nkala, and Musanana. He formed a very low opinion of the Ba-ila, whom he described as "quite the most hopeless savages it is possible to conceive." "They live," he added, "in the finest country in Africa."[2]

The time was now come when the Ba-ila were to enter upon quite a new period of their history. In 1895 the British South Africa Company by treaty with Lewanika extended its operations north of the Zambesi. In 1897 some of the Batonga chiefs sent a deputation to Bulawayo to complain of the white traders who were crossing the Zambesi, and for the purpose of regulating trade and keeping order a station of the B.S.A. police was established near Monze in charge of Captain Drury.

In 1900 Mr. Cecil Rhodes sent Messrs. Gielgud and Anderson to establish a post in the Kafue district, and after marching without any molestation through the Ila country they built a station at Moyanga on the Upper Kafue.

In 1901 came the first, and so far the only, conflict between the Company's officials and the Ba-ila. The trouble arose out of one of those internecine quarrels among the Ba-ila. For some years there had been constant friction between Mungalo, a chief at Mala, and Mungaila of Kantengwa. On the death of Shambamba at Mala, Mungalo was invited to succeed him, but refused on the ground that his guardian spirit had warned him that if he acceded

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[1] The records of the Mission are found in the following books: Mrs. E. W. Smith, *Sunshine and Shade in Central Africa*, 1907; Rev. W. Chapman, *A Pathfinder in Central Africa*, 1911; Rev. A. Baldwin, *A Missionary Outpost in Central Africa*, 1914; Rev. H. J. Taylor, *Cape Town to Kafue*, 1915; Mrs. J. A. Kerswell, *Romance and Reality of Missionary Life in N. Rhodesia*, 1913 (all published at Holborn Hall, E.C.).

[2] A. St. H. Gibbons, *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa* (London, 1898), pp. 144-5.

he would die of smallpox as Shambamba had died. The 175
position was then offered to and accepted by Mungaila. 678
Later on, Mungalo repented or, as he said, his spirit had now given him instructions to assume the chiefship, and a quarrel was the result, for Mungaila naturally refused to abdicate. Some time afterwards one of Mungaila's men, Mwanankumba, took possession of some of Mungalo's land and began to build on it. As he refused to move, Mungalo attacked him and killed some of his people. Mungaila intervened to support his vassal, and as some of the other chiefs stood by Mungalo the fight became general. After a while Mungaila died—bewitched, it is said—and his younger "brother" took his name and position, while his nephew Shibenzu succeeded him at Kantengwa. Fighting still went on, and Mungaila sent to ask for the help of the European police. It is commonly said that Mungalo sent two blood-stained spears to the police camp as a challenge, but it seems that the spears really came from Mungaila, who misrepresented the matter to secure the help of the police. Colonel Harding, with other white officers and a host of native allies, marched to Mala; Mungalo fled, was captured, and sent into exile for some years. Eventually he was allowed to return to Mala. [115]
We knew him well. He was a particular friend of one of us, and was one of our chief informants on the history and customs of the Ba-ila. He died, about seventy years of age, in 1911. We do not agree with Colonel Harding's estimate of him: "A lying, servile hypocrite."[1]

After this incident a police camp was established at Nkala. Then in 1903 civil administration was introduced into the southern Kafue district, and in 1905 Mr. Dale took charge of the greater part of the Ba-ila.

As a result of these movements the anarchic state of the [117]
country, as portrayed in the earlier part of this chapter, came to an end; intercommunal warfare, raids from the outside, and slave-trading have all become things of the past, and earnest efforts are being made to introduce law and order into the country.

The impression given by this chapter that the relations

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[1] Colonel C. Harding, *In Remotest Barotseland* (London, 1905), p. 248. He gives his version of these feuds, pp. 243 *et seq.*

175 between the Ba-ila and their neighbours have been uniformly
648 hostile for as long a period as can be traced may be modified

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Photo E. W. Smith.

[illegible] II., Chief of the Bumala.

later, but it will remain as a true impression in general. The Ba-ila have been little influenced in manner of life by their contact with other tribes. They have asked only to be left alone. It is only now that they are beginning to be influenced by foreign civilisation. We can claim that our account of their life has the advantage of being the description of a people in their wild, raw state.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

NAMES OF THE CHIEFS REFERRED TO ON P. 21.

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Kasenga.—Shimunenga ruled over Mala, Busangu, Kaale, Chikome, Chitumbi, and Kalando. After his death these places to a large extent became separate chiefdoms.

(1) *Mala.*—Split up among three chiefs, Namawale, Uvbwamba, and Shinyonge. Namawale's successors: Shamakomo I. and Shamakomo II.; Shinyonge's: Shibwato (or Fumba), Chibawe, and Nalubwe; Uvbwamba's: Shanchidi, Shambumba, Mungaila I., Mungaila II.

(2) *Busangu.*—Momba, Namompwe, Mwampwe, Chanaika, and Shimunjele (the two last still living).

(3) *Chikome.*—Chambwe, Mpumpa, Mungalo I. and Mungalo II.

(4) *Chitumbi.*—Shikodio, Maika, Shimanza, Kasonde, and now Mukamonga.

Kabulamwanda.—Zambwe, Shakavu, Chikoti, and Chinda.

Kaningwa.—Kantambwe, Shichikuloma, Shitukumba, Namamba, Chomwa.

Bambwe.—Shaebelelwa, Shikamulonga, Mukobela I., Shamakwebo, Shimabewane, Mukobela II.

Lubwe.—Mwanachiwala, Kalumba, Shepande (Shaloba I.), Munaluchena (Shaloba II.), Shaloba III., Shaloba IV.

Ngalo.—Kachembele, Shimafumba I., Nchindo, Buche, Shimafumba II., Shimafumba III.

Ichila.—Shambowe, Kanyindi, Shabalunga, Nakadiaba, Shivbwambwe, Shimakudika.

Chisamdele.—Kanza, Mulala I., Kadimina, Mulala II., Namawi.

North of the Kafue.—Malumbe (see Chap. XXII.) appears to have ruled over several localities, which after his death passed to different chiefs, *e.g.*:

(1) *Nyambo.*—Shimpande, Mwanamonga, Mauwe, Mwanashumba, Mwezwa.

(2) *Chifwembe.*—Kashise, Lombe, Mwembwa, Chilumbwa, Hakoma, Namabeshi.

173 *Mafwele*.—Bisi, Shamumpo, Muluko, Shikamwe (two years), Mwinu, Mpende I., Mivhuba (three years), Manzala, Mpende II.

622 *Kantaba*.—Kantambwe, Shichikoloma, Shitukumba, Namamba, Chomwa (people scattered).

Mulenda.—Chongo, Munyama, Mweeld, Mutinta, Shende, Chikwangula, Mulungushi.

CHAPTER III

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PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: DRESS AND DECORATION

1. Physical Characteristics

Amidst the very considerable variation in physique among these people two distinct types can be traced. One is tall, strongly and splendidly formed; not inclined to corpulence, but tending rather to leanness; with long legs, narrow hips, and broad, straight shoulders; head finely shaped, well set on a longish neck, with clearly marked, but not obtrusive superciliary arches, nose long and rather arched, nostrils thin; mouth small, the lips not excessively everted, but tending to be thin like a European's; hands and feet small, fingers tapering; in general appearance handsome. The other type is very distinct, in many respects the very opposite to the former: short, with large, heavy body, tending to corpulence; bull-necked; the features coarse, forehead low; nose squat, with broad depressed bridge and wide wings; blubber-lipped, mouth large; hands and feet gross. This type is as repulsive as the other is handsome. Individuals corresponding to these two types are found, and there are numerous gradations between the two. It cannot be said that one type is aristocratic and the other plebeian, for chiefs and slaves are found of both types.

The colour of the skin varies considerably. That of the new-born baby is a dirty yellow; in some, like that of a child of a very dark European woman; as early as the second day one can notice it getting darker. Young people and adults vary from chocolate brown to almost black. The skin of the palms, soles, and armpits is always lighter than

142 that of the rest of the body. We have repeatedly noticed
[144] that people lose much colour when sick. We have never

Photo E. W. Smith.

THE INFERIOR ILA TYPE.

found any albinos among them, such as we have seen among the Basuto and other South African tribes.

As for the eyes, the iris is dark brown or black, the pupil is black, and the sclerotic is yellowish and cloudy—

very rarely is it white and clear as in Europeans; it is 142
probably pigmented as a protection from the glare of the sun.

Individuals are found with "strong" chins, but mostly they are "weak," rounded rather than square, and retreating. There is no firm line of jaw. The forehead is prominent [302]
in those who wear the *coiffure en cornet*; the weight draws the scalp back, so that the skin is tight over the frontal region. This gives them a certain open-eyed, staring appearance. The ear is ordinarily small and set far back. The hands and feet are often remarkably small; we ourselves could rarely put on bracelets worn by chiefs and easily drawn off and on by them. We have seen many of the women with really handsome figures, beautifully moulded arms, and long tapering hands.

The muscular development, both in men and women, 142
is magnificent. Very seldom does one find fat, unwieldy 147
persons. We have often found ourselves admiring their 482
graceful carriage; they walk as if the whole earth belonged to them. The women's habit of carrying heavy burdens on the head—we have seen them bearing without effort pots of water or bundles of wood which we could hardly lift from the ground—is largely accountable for this in their case. When a woman takes her child out of the skin on her back, where it has been bundled up for some time, she usually straightens out and slightly stretches its limbs, and this also has probably a beneficial effect upon their carriage and lineaments.

Ba-ila age quickly. This is especially true of the women. 142
A young, plump woman, with rounded breasts, goes to be 145
married, and a year or so later seems to be ten years older and is almost unrecognisable. After childbirth the breasts fall, and in still early life become unsightly, like long bags of leather. The slave women, unkempt, wrinkled, prematurely [567]
aged, clad only in bits of rough hide, are piteous creatures: some of them, to look at, might be a hundred years old, in reality they are probably not half that age. The boys develop amazingly after puberty, appearing to shoot up and burgeon out with a rush. It is not easy to tell the ages with any certainty; only one thing is sure, they are younger than they look.

802 younger than they look. The only means of ascertaining
805 a person's age approximately is to relate his birth, or some

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Photo E. W. Smith.

A Young Mwila wearing the *Impumbe*.

important event in his life, such as his initiation, to one of the few fixed dates mentioned in the previous chapter. We fixed our friend Mungalo's age at about seventy, because

in 1854, when Sekeletu made his great raid, he had just 805
grown his *impumbe* and was not yet married, *i.e.* he was
fifteen or sixteen. The oldest man whose age we have
ascertained in this rough manner was eighty-five, or thereabouts.
The practice of naming children after some prominent [551]
visitor often helps to fix a date. Thus many children
born about 1850 were named Mpepe after that Makololo
warrior.

The hair of new-born children is like tow, not curled 142
as on adults, and the colour is distinctly lighter. It very 145
soon changes, to become closely curled and jet-black. On
many people the tufts grow very closely together, and
when cut short the hair looks like astrakhan; in others
the tufts are spaced, but never to the extent found in the
Bushmen.

The Ba-ila proper, as a rule, wear no hair on their faces. 142
One exception is during a period of mourning, when, from
the time of the death till the *madidila*, the final funeral 302
feast, perhaps a year later, the men neither shave nor wash, [765]
and the women neither wash nor cut their hair nor shave their
head. Older men, who are said to be no longer *shinkwela*
—which means that they are past the age for attracting
women—are more indifferent to their personal appearance,
and allow the hair to grow; such men usually have a beard,
mostly only a straggling tuft on the chin. On the younger
men the growth is not vigorous, and an occasional shave,
say twice a month, is sufficient. The shaving is done with
a razor (*lumo*), native-made; no emollient is used but cold
water. The operation is performed usually by a wife or
friend; not often, through lack of mirrors, by the man
himself. The razor is passed right over the head, excepting
only where the cone grows: this is called *kusakula*. Those
who do not shave the whole head pass the razor around the
margin of the hair on the scalp: this is *kupambula*. Very 142
occasionally one meets with a fairly full beard even 302
among the Ba-ila; if so, it is because the man is in a 784
state of taboo. One man known to us had the reputation 526
of being the strongest wrestler in the country: he boasted
that nobody could possibly throw him; he declined the
challenge of one of us on the ground that it was not fitting

that he should overthrow a white chief. This man's strength was the outcome, it is said, of powerful "medicine," which

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Photo E. W. Smith.

AN OLD-MAN-OF-THE-WOODS FROM MULENDEMA'S.

would lose its power were he to shave; shaving was therefore taboo to him. Beards are more common among the Bambala and the Balumbu, but it is not often that one 302

1:Smith & Dale M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
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finds so much hair as on the old-man-of-the-woods we photographed at Mulendema's. 302

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Photo E. W. Smith.

CHIKATAKALA, "THE POLAR BEAR," A CHIEF AT KASENGA.

The younger adults, male and female, periodically remove all hair (*masho*) from the armpits and pubes by depilation (*kudimensa*). Warm ashes are first rubbed on the part, and then the hairs are plucked out with the finger

302 and thumb. Men and women may do this for themselves; it is a wife's duty to do it for her husband. The other body-
[785] hair (*musidabenga*)[1] is not removed: it is taboo to do so. Very rarely does one find a young adult with much body-
[142] hair, but it increases with age, and some old men are very woolly. Old Chikatakala at Mala had so much white hair on him that we nicknamed him the Polar Bear. A hairy
[821] man is called a *mutende*, a strong, hale person, the hair being regarded as a sign of robustness. All hair removed
[759] is carefully buried, as a rule, to avoid its getting into the hands of warlocks: this does not, as we shall see, forbid its use by the hairdresser. Partial baldness is common, but we have never seen a person entirely bald.

The nails are never cut, but are allowed to grow till they break off. The possession of long nails has become a sign
[464] of wealth and position, for if a person has to work it inevitably
[591] happens that he breaks his nails; when you see a man with
642 nails nearly an inch long you may readily conclude that he does no manual work, that is to say, he is a chief. Another motive assigned for the custom is expressed thus, *balaanda kuambenya mala* ("they want to use their nails to argue with"). It is common among the women, and not unknown
[578] among the men, to scratch and pinch each other in course of a dispute.

Contrary to the usual belief with regard to the teeth of
164 savage people, we must confess disappointment with the teeth of the Ba-ila. This opinion is supported by the investigations made by Dr. Hewetson among the Ba-ila and other natives who were labouring at the Wankie coal-mine
[165] in 1909-10.[1] At that time the average death-rate amongst this class of men on the mine was 42 per 1000, excluding accidents, one-eighth due to scurvy and more than one-half to pneumonia. His theory that both diseases are due to septic teeth has not been established, but he is right in saying that the natives suffer largely from gingivitis. This disease is due to a bacterial invasion of the alveolar tooth sockets and of the gums. The predisposing cause is that

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1 [i.e., other than pubic and axillary—Analyst]

[1] W. Morton Hewetson, M.B., etc., "The Causation and Prevention of Scurvy, with Special Reference to Pneumonia," *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association*, vol. xi. part i., 1911 (Bulawayo).

164 the staple food being in the form of porridge, there is insufficient exercise for the teeth and gums; this results in a soft condition of the gums, which become non-adherent to

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Photo E. W. Smith.

A DWARF.

the teeth and non-resistant to micro-organisms. The soft food gets caught in the crevices and inequalities of the teeth and forms a suitable culture medium. As for the teeth, Dr. Hewetson says, "I have seen more sickening and repulsive sights in old men during the course of my

164 examinations than ever I saw amongst the English working classes." This condition of things would seem to be closely

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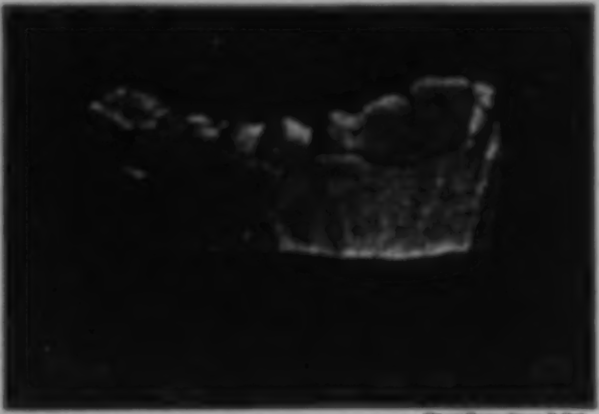
Photo E. W. Smith.

A Mixed Ila-Luba Type.

related to the custom of knocking out the upper teeth. Of the cases of gingivitis on one date, 53 per cent lacked the

six front upper teeth; and others lacked a lesser number, or 164
had the teeth filed; not a single case at that time showed un- 304
mutilated teeth. Amongst the Ba-ila and Batonga labourers, who all knock out the teeth, 13.3 per cent suffered from gingivitis; among the rest only 5.40 per cent, and the condition was always worse and harder to cure among the former. He found it not only in the adults, but in young boys who had the teeth out. He points out, what we have often noticed, that the loss of the upper incisors can have an extraordinary effect on those remaining; the lower incisors grow, often a quarter of an inch above the crowns of the adjacent teeth, upsetting the line and causing want of apposition.



From Proceedings R.S.M.

CAST OF LOWER TEETH OF A NATIVE.

Showing compensatory curve of incisors, following avulsion in early life of upper incisors and canines.

The hair of a child is cut soon after birth, and is there- 302
after allowed to grow until about the weaning time, when [852]
it is cut around the head, leaving a long tuft on the crown. This cutting is called *kutengula chisumpa*, and the wearing of the tuft is *kupunga chisumpa*. These tufts (*shisumpa*) make the children look, as to their heads, like Japanese dolls. Both boys and girls have their hair dressed in this fashion.

When the girl's hair has grown long enough, they do it up in the style called *buyombo*. Strands of the hair are

302 twisted (*kupota*) with powdered ash (*inshishi*), then clay from a certain kind of ant-heap (*bwambwasu*), or ochre (*chishila*) mixed with fat is rubbed into the locks. Mixed fat and ochre are used from time to time to anoint the hair. The girl's coiffure looks nasty to our eyes, but they find it pleasing.

When the girl is in the seclusion of the initiation hut, her hair is done up in one of the styles named *shimbalembumba* and *shimpuki*. There is not much difference between them; in each case the hair is done up in small knots or rolls with the aid of *butele*, a paste made from ground-nuts. By the time this gets intolerably untidy she is ready to be shaved, a sign that she has reached adulthood. She may be already married when this is done. The Bambala do the girls' hair up in beads, as shown in the photograph.

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Photo Rev. J. Ainsworth.

BAMBALA GIRLS.

(To show hairdressing).

Boys also have their hair dressed in the *buyombo* style. Their hair is allowed to grow, and that on the crown is gathered into a cone, plastered with wax and clay. The

hair around the base of the cone is shaved off. This cone 302
is named *impumbe*, and it marks the boy's emergence from childhood. He is now a *mukubushi* ("a young man"). The *impumbe* undergoes a further development into the *isusu*, the tall coiffure peculiar to the Ba-ila, whose construction must be described in detail.

It is February; the field-work is done for the present, 305
and from now till harvest there is a slack period. This is the time when the young men flock to the hairdresser to have their *impumbe* transformed into *isusu*. In every commune there is at least one professional hairdresser. We find him seated outside under the eaves of his hut. Several young men are here: some with their heads wrapped in cloths—these are the patients; others have come to make arrangements for their turns. It is a lengthy process, and a painful; when the *isusu* has been built up six inches or so the patient retires for a time to recover. Probably a month will elapse before one is complete. We find the hairdresser busy carrying different men through the various stages. He does not work for nothing: two hoes or their equiva- [465]
lent is the fee paid to him, and the patient has to supply the necessary twine and extra hair. Each man has with him a small bundle, on opening which you find a mass of hair collected or purchased by him. One tells you that he purchased with a spear some of the locks of an old man (they are flecked with grey) and his daughter.

One man now takes his place on the ground beside the operator, and, removing his head-cloth, discovers a rough, tousy shock of hair—the *impumbe décoiffé*. The operator gathers this up in his hand, sorting out the hair beyond the circle of the crown, and ties it up loosely with twine, then with a spear cuts the superfluous hair close to the head. He now prepares to sew (*kutunga*). He has a bright needle, [283
eight inches long, and a piece of twine made of *mukusa* (a 824]
species of *Sansewiera*), with which, after softening by drawing it backwards and forwards across one of the legs of his stool, he threads the needle. He inserts this into the hair, taking up half an inch, and ties the end of his twine tightly around it, then puts his needle, pointing backwards, an inch in front,

305 and draws it up and forward. The stitch is the same as that used in smocking, and when the *isusu* is finished it presents the appearance of finely-wrought smock-work, the stitches showing no vestige of the white twine. He goes round twice. The needle does not penetrate through the mass of hair, but only through the outer layer, making a crust, as it were, enveloping the hair inside. Having by these two first rows prepared a firm foundation, he now pulls down the temporary twine-tied heap, and carefully spreads the hair all round. Some, as not required, he cuts off; at the back, where there is an insufficiency, he adds a bit from the bundle lying beside him. Then he ties the mass up again tightly, smoothing it, poking it, punching it till he has got it symmetrical. He now resumes the sewing. He remembers that the *isusu* is not to grow out at right angles to the crown, but must rise above the head in a gentle curve, beginning with a bulge backwards and then curving forward. These next rows of stitching are important; they must be tight and firm and well-shaped, otherwise the *isusu* will be lop-sided and wobbly. Working now from the back, as

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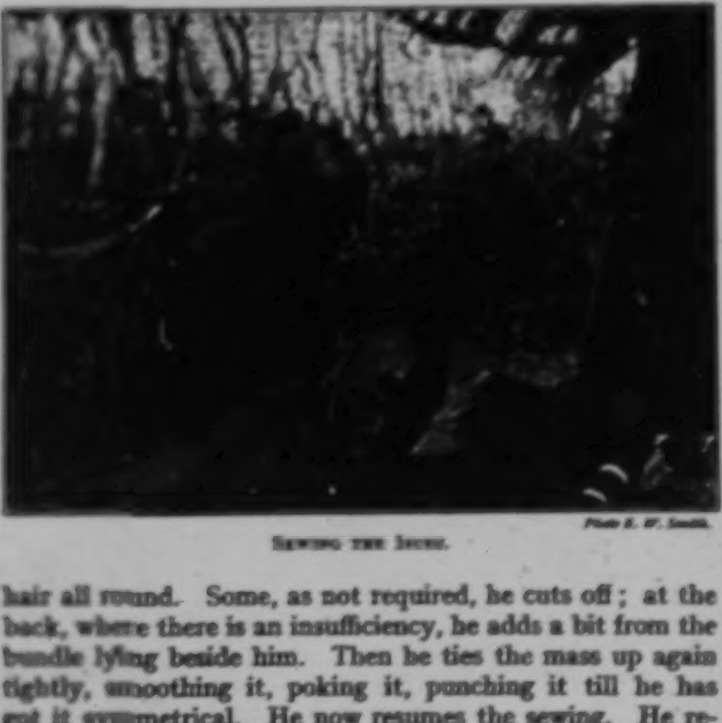

Photo E. W. Smith.

Sewing the Isusu.

1: Smith & Dale   M, G-5 (1902-1914)1920
FQ6 Ila FQ6

he makes the loop of the stitch he introduces into it a lock of hair from the heap beside him, draws the string tight across it, doubles it over, and smooths it down upon the hair above. He goes on adding in this way until near the front; there he jumps over an inch and a half without stitching: he will fill up the space presently. While he continues his work now, you see the patient wince as every stitch is pulled tight; he is beginning to suffer. After four or five more rows, the operator attends to the space left in front; pressing the whole mass forward, he makes his stitches, drawing the cord very tight: this gives it a firm, forward-tending hold. He goes on now round and round. When he has done about six inches up, the patient begins to say that he has had enough of it for to-day. "*Chanka kubia, chanka kupia*" ("It begins to be bad, it begins to burn"), says he. The neat phrase tickles the fancy of the

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Photo E. W. Smith.

SEWING THE ISUSU.

305 onlookers, and they repeat it approvingly, "*Chanka kubia, chanka kupia.*" We are anxious to see the whole thing done

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Photo E. W. Smith.

SOME BA-ILA YOUNGSTERS.

as we wait, but that, we are told, is out of the question; it would cause him such agony that the top of his head would come off. So, wrapping the cloth around the unfinished

1:Smith & Dale M, G-S (1902-1914)1920
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structure, he gives way to the next patient. You notice that the skin around the crown is drawn up and livid, and 305

[M2 29]

Some Ba-ila Veterans.

congratulate yourself that you are not a Mwila and a slave to barbarous fashion.

Examine the hair lying by the side of the operator. It [M2]

305 142 is very fine and curly; if you pull out a hair and stretch it to take out the curl, you find it measures eleven inches; it curls up into less than half that length.

305 The *isusu* from base to tip is about three feet ten inches high. About half-way up the operator introduces a strip of finely pared sable antelope horn, less than the calibre of a lead pencil at its lower end and tapering away to a very fine point. He continues his sewing around this until about nine inches from the top, when he simply winds hair around the stem and ties it. When this is complete, he lights a wisp of grass and burns off all the fluff remaining on the *isusu*, mercilessly, roughly, drawing the flame over the strained skin at the base. The patient writhes under this treatment, and groans, "*Ndu lono lumamba*" ("This is where the war comes in"). The operator simply laughs and goes on.

[514]

Photo E. W. Smith.

Repairing the Impunde.

These characteristic coiffures are not worn for any length of time, maybe only two or three months. They get too uncomfortable and have to be removed. The reason is found in the name given to them in derision by the Balu-

1:Smith & Dale M,G-5 (1902-1914)1920
FQ6 Ila FQ6

mbu, who do not wear them: *ing'anda sha njina*, they call them ("lice houses"). The man goes back to the *impumbe*, and next season has another *iruso* made. 305

Old men, as they become partially bald, lose the foundation upon which the *impumbe* is built, and it falls down behind in a ridiculous little bob, held on only by a few strands of hair.

When men have worn the *impumbe* for some time, and because of mourning have not been able to attend to their toilet, it gets loose owing to the growing hair, and they visit

[516
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Photo E. W. Smith.

AFTER REPAIRING THE IMPUMBE: SHAVING THE HEAD.

the hairdresser to have it tightened. He puts in two or three rows of stitches around the base to make it firm, and then shaves the head.

Outside the Bwila proper different styles of hairdressing prevail. One Bambala style is shown in the photograph of Kakua. This is called *mampolombwe* by the Ba-ila. The hair is allowed to grow long, falling almost to the shoulders, and is twisted into rolls. Others, as seen in the picture of Chibaluma, have their hair in a big mop, shaven in front to give the appearance of a lofty forehead; the hair is often threaded with beads. A modification of 302